COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO FOREIGNERS.

On Wednesday the 16th instant, I shall publish, in the *French language*, the first number of a monthly work, to be entitled, LE MERCURE ANGLOIS DE COBBETT. It is to consist of one sheet of the same form, but containing more matter than this, and is to contain a TRANSLATION of such parts of the Register, as may be thought useful or interesting to politicians on the Continent of Europe. The work will have a stamp, and will, of course, be transmitted through the Post-Office, in the same manner as other newspapers. The second will be published on the first Wednesday in March, and a number will be published on the first Wednesday of every succeeding month. The price will be *One Shilling* each number. The work will be published by Mr. E. HARDING, No. 18, PALL MALL, by whom orders, postage paid, will be received, and diligently attended to.

The principal objects of this publication are, 1. To endeavour to counteract, in some degree, the effect of the falsehoods and misrepresentations, which are spread over the Continent by means of the French Gazettes, particularly the Moniteur; and, 2. To convey to foreigners such facts and observations, as may enable them to form a just opinion of public men, public measures, and public opinion, in this country.

It must be obvious to every one, who looks back to the causes of the present deplorable state of things, that the ambitious demagogues of France, who, under the name of liberty, have finally brought about more real slavery than ever existed in Europe at any former period, owe the success of their nefarious projects to the *force of opinion* operating in favour of their views. They never, except, perhaps, in the case of Egypt, invaded any country, till their all-seducing doctrines had created them a party, frequently consisting of nine-tenths of the population; till the loyal and patriotic principle had been killed or neutralized; till they had to encounter nothing but a feeble, unwilling, constrained opposition, resistance without resentment, the bodies of enemies with the souls of friends. The means of thus gaining the minds of men, of obtaining this powerful ally in every country, were, flattery and menaces, truth and falsehood, employed as the circumstances of persons, time, and place might dictate, and conveyed to the world through the innumerable channels of the Parisian press. That press, which, under every succeeding tyrant, or set of tyrants, has constantly been rendered subservient to the views entertained by Republican France against the freedom, independence, and happiness of other state, is, still devoted, with renovated malevolence and ability, to the same domineering, insolent, and wicked purpose, in the accomplishment of which it is assisted by a *language*, which, unfortunately for the world, is universally read and spoken, by all those who have any considerable share in influencing the measures of nations.—This instrument, keener than her sword, more to be dreaded than her million of soldiers, the tyrannical, rapacious, bloody, and sacrilegious Republic is now directing, with all her vigilance, and all her might, against the liberties, the property, the lives, and the souls of all that part of mankind that has hitherto escaped the ultimate effects of her predominance.—To succeed, however, in this diabolical project, to produce a catastrophe commensurate with the acts and incidents of the hideous drama which she has been exhibiting on the theatre of Europe during the last twelve years, she must first destroy the British Monarchy, and thereby enslave the British nation: for, while that Monarchy stands, while that nation is independent, Europe will still look for better days, hope will not be entirely extinguished in her bosom, and France, whose fears, like those of the robber, have greatly contributed to her encroachment and cruelty, will still dread the hour of retribution. Therefore, though she has barricadoed her plunder by fortresses, tier upon tier, though country upon country, though vassals, allies, friends, and neutrals, stand between her and danger, yet fear still haunts her mind, and she has, with respect to England, adopted the sentiment of the gloomy and sanguinary usurper, Macbeth:

> ..... What need I fear of thee?
> But yet I'll make assurance double sure,

And take a bond of fate: thou shalt not live;
That I may tell pale-hearted fear, it lies,
And sleep in spite of thunder.....

In order to effect this purpose, on which her mind is constantly bent, her great object is, to cut off this country from all connexion with the nations of the Continent. With this intention it is, that she is now employing every art that her ingenious malice can suggest, to excite in those nations a jealousy, envy, and hatred of England; to persuade them, that we are wallowing in riches at their expense; that we are ever ready to plunge Europe into war, because we share in none of its evils, but, on the contrary, profit from the distresses which other nations mutually bring upon each other at our instigation; that we become rich by their poverty, strong by their weakness; that we live merely by the miseries of the rest of mankind; that our existence as a great and independent nation, is an universal curse, and that, of course, we ought to be subjugated, or destroyed.

While she is thus aiming at the destruction of England by the hands of foreigners, she is not unmindful of the use that may be made, in that enterprize, of Englishmen themselves. She has observed, that we, unhappily, have amongst us one set of men calculated to further her views even more effectually than those who, like Napper Tandy and O'Connor, are absolutely, and almost openly, in her service. The persons to whom we allude, she well knows to be of a low, selfish, narrow-minded description; men who, in their pharisaical cant, have stigmatized all the nations of the Continent as being *too dishonest* for England to have any connexion with, and who must necessarily be despised by those nations. To these despised and despicable men it is her endeavour to give influence in England, while she is persuading the Continent that those English statesmen, who are friendly to Continental connexions, wish to form such connexions for no other purpose than that of plunging the Continent in war, for the profit of England alone: thus contriving, by a grand, extensive, and well-combined system of deception, to make the Continent suspect England, and England suspect the Continent; to stimulate them to mutual reproaches; to excite in them a wish for each other's destruction; to divide them for ever, in order to devour them one at a time.

In the making of these destructive impressions, she is aided, first, by the fear which men entertain of her power; for whosoever speaks to a trembling audience, is sure to be heard with attention. Secondly, she has at her command a language almost universal. Thirdly, from one cause or another, she has, for the *propagation of falsehood*, the press of the whole world, while, at the same time, she possesses the power of *suppressing truth* in every part of the world, England and Anglo-America excepted. In these countries her libels are detected and exposed, but, owing to the many obstacles arising from circumstances of time, place, and language, particularly the latter, the detection and exposure reach, but in a very few instances, beyond the limits of the English and American dominions. The Register is, indeed, read in every court of Europe; but, if it is considered how few, comparatively, are those who, even in courts, read the English language, how imperfectly they understand it, and with how much difficulty they communicate to others what they do read, it will be obvious, that any publication, in English, must be very confined in its influence, and that influence extremely slow in its operation. As an humble attempt, therefore, towards removing the most formidable of these obstacles, the present publication is intended; and, though I do not think that my feeble efforts will preserve my country and the world from that universal deluge of falsehood and corruption, which the press in France, and under the influence of France, is now pouring down; though I am not so presumptuous as to attach this degree of importance to my labours; and though, in truth, I feel totally incapable of resisting the tremendous mischief myself, I am not without some hope of exciting an efficient resistance in others; a hope founded on the goodness of my cause, elevated by considerations of duty and of honour, and fortified by the sanction of experience.

London, 12*th Feb.* 1803. WM. COBBETT.

Invincible Standard.

On Saturday, the 5th instant, the following NARRATIVE appeared in a London newspaper, entitled, *The St. James's Evening Chronicle*, from which paper it has been republished in all the London journals; and it is with peculiar satisfaction that I give it a place in the Register, the readers of which will not, I trust, be displeased to find, that their confidence in the correctness of my statement has not been misplaced.

NARRATIVE *(by Authority) of the Movements of the* 42*d Royal Highland Regiment on the* 21*st of March*, 1801.

On the morning of the 21st of March the picquets of the reserve had given their fire and retired, when Brig. Gen. Oakes ordered the left wing of the 42d to advance. Major Stirling, who commanded this wing, gained the left of the re-

doubt, in which the 28th reg. had taken post and were engaged, when he immediately encountered the enemy in front. They were at this time endeavouring to force the redoubt, the ruins and the corps which communicated from thence to the sea. To the left of the Major's position, the road from Alexandria to Aboukir, passes through a considerable hollow which separated the 42d from the Guards, a space which was unoccupied by any troops in the first line. On this road the officers of the light company descried and gave information of a column of the enemy, directing its march upon their flank, and having with them a standard and a field-piece. The major himself soon after ascertained this column to be French, and directed the officer, commanding the light company, to be ready to form front to his flank, in case any attempt should be made to turn it. The firing at this time was very smart, both in his front and to the right.—Passing by the rear, he had just reached the right of the wing he commanded, when he heard a discharge of grape, and on returning rapidly to the left, saw a French battalion in his rear, with a field-piece and six horses, and two loaded camels behind them. Conceiving himself likely to be placed between two fires, he did not hesitate to order the wing to face to the right about and charge. The order was obeyed with a spirited promptness, which insured the discomfiture of a part of this corps, and obtained possession of the gun. The head of the enemy's column, followed by Major Stirling, directed its movements on the ruins, and was met by the right wing of the 42d under Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart, who here joined in the conflict. —Thus pressed, a part of the column sought shelter in the ruins, which they entered, receiving the fire of some companies of the 58th reg. The 42d at this time closed in with them, and their standard was taken from the bearer by Major Stirling, who consigned it in charge to a non-commissioned officer. The survivors of the enemy immediately surrendered, and were marched prisoners to the Beach, by Ensign Hillas of the 42d reg.—Both wings of the 42d, now quitting the ruins, formed battalion, under the orders of Lt. Col. A. Stewart, and proceeded to the ground which the left wing had occupied at the commencement of the action, on the left of the 28th redoubt.—Along with the 28th, the reg. was now engaged in opposing the repeated attempts of the enemy to force the redoubt; attempts repeated also, in the same manner, by fresh bodies endeavouring to come round its left, apparently to break the line of the 42d, and force the redoubt. —The column in front kept up a heavy fire, advancing at the same time, when Sir Ralph Abercromby coming up to the 42d reg. gave orders that the enemy should not be allowed to gain the height.—Orders were at that moment given by Lt. Col. A. Stewart to charge, which was instantly done, and the French infantry were driven down the declivity to a considerable distance in front, and left of the position of the reserve. They retreated through the intervals of their cavalry, who were now observed, as the smoke cleared away, close to the left of the 42d.—The exertions of this charge had disordered the line, and Lt. Col. A. Stewart judging that the enemy's cavalry were preparing to charge in turn, ordered the 42d to form quickly on the grenadiers and prepare to receive them. This moment was selected by the enemy for a desperate charge. It was doubtless a moment in which a regiment, pressing close on a retreating enemy, cannot be supposed to be correctly in line. The charge of the cavalry was made *en masse*, and in some places penetrated the intervals which had been occasioned by the movements to form on the grenadiers, an order which in the continued fire of musquetry could not be distinctly heard by the whole battalion. The right were protected by the fire of the 28th on the redoubt, and Brig. Gen. Stewart bringing up his brigade at this critical moment, his own regiment gave the enemy a close and well directed fire, which allowed time to the 42d to join their efforts to those of the rest of the reserve, and of the foreign brigade, repelling the cavalry. This service was speedily accomplished with the effect stated in the dispatches of the commander in chief. The rest of the action consisted in sharp shooting and cannonading as stated in the same dispatches.—The non-commissioned officer, (Serjeant Sinclair) to whom the standard was given in charge, was wounded in the rear of the regiment, and by him the standard was lost.—The 42d reflect with great satisfaction on the prompt and effective support they received from the 28th reg. the 58th reg. and Queen's German reg. with whom they more immediately acted.—The above Narrative was drawn up from information furnished by the officers concerned, and at their desire it has been submitted to our inspection; and we declare it conformable to our best observation and recollection of the facts.

(Signed) *A. Stewart*, Major and Lt. Col. 42d R. H. Regiment.
James Stirling, Major and Lt. Col. 42d R. H. Regiment.

There are, as the reader will perceive, in this NARRATIVE, but two sentences, which have any reference to the Standard, and they contain nothing which, even in the slightest degree, impairs, or has a tendency to impair, the claim which I had the honour to prefer in behalf of the gallant LUTZ; but, on the contrary, they do, as far as negative evidence can go, establish and confirm the justice of that claim. "The 42d regiment," say the Narrators, "at this time closed in "with them" [the enemy] "and *their standard* was taken from the bearer by Major "Stirling, who consigned it in charge to a "non-commissioned officer."—"The non-"commissioned officer (Serjeant Sinclair) to "whom *the standard* was given in charge, "was wounded in the rear of the regiment, "and *by him the standard was* LOST!" This is all. Here is nothing controversial; nothing but the simple statement of two facts; to wit, that Major Stirling took a standard, and that Serjeant Sinclair lost it again; facts which were never called in question, and which I have not the least inclination to deny. Leaving, then, the claim of LUTZ to stand upon the incontrovertible evidence which I before produced, and which is not attempted to be controverted by this narrative, I shall, for the present, content myself with just pointing out the disagreement between the narrative of Serjeant Sinclair, as published in the name of

the Highland Society, and that which is now submitted to the Public.

Serjeant Sinclair said (or was made to say), that the standard, which Major Stirling took, was the *Invincible* Standard. The narrative, signed by the field officers, affixes to it no such epithet. Colonels STEWART and STIRLING do, indeed, refrain from stating, that the standard, taken by the 42d regiment, was *not* the Invincible Standard; and, though Major STIRLING himself took it, it is possible, that he may not recollect, or may not have been able to distinguish at the time, whether it was or was not the same standard which was finally brought to England; but if Major STIRLING is not, from want of recollection, or from whatever other cause, able to say, that the standard he took was *not* the Invincible Standard, it inevitably follows, that he is not able to say that it *was* the Invincible Standard.

Then again, Serjeant Sinclair asserted (or he was made to assert), that the standard, committed to his charge, was "PICKED UP," by his side, "while he lay in a state of *insensibility*." But, Colonels STEWART and STIRLING say nothing about the standard's being *picked up* from the side of the serjeant. They say he *lost* it, and that is all. The circumstance of *picking up*, was the most material of his whole narrative, as its evident tendency was to rob Lutz and his regiment of the honour of having taken the standard from the enemy. This circumstance is now dropped, though, be it observed, Serjeant Sinclair must, of course, have been examined, previous to the drawing up of the regimental statement.

Thus it appears, then, that there was not only no ground for stating that LUTZ *picked up* and brought in a standard, which was the prize of the 42d regiment, but that it is altogether uncertain whether the standard brought in by LUTZ was the same standard that was lost by that regiment. That there is, in England, but *one* French standard, which was taken in the battle of Alexandria, is well known: it is equally well known, that that standard was taken from the enemy by LUTZ; and, it now appears, from the best possible evidence, that the 42d regiment themselves do not know, that they ever had this standard, even for one moment, in their possession, though the justly indignant Public will not fail to recollect, that it was openly proposed, by the Scotch editors in London, to send this symbol of victory to be kept in the city of *Edinburgh!*

As to the narrative itself, it is, perhaps, [illegible] as suitable a statement as could have been drawn up; for, though some persons think, that, after all that has been said, something rather more *explicit*, as to the particular point in dispute, might have been expected in an official statement of the 42d regiment; yet when one duly reflects on the example of a regiment's involving itself in a newspaper dispute, it may appear to have been absolutely necessary to abstain from all allusion whatever to any former publication. There is, however, one circumstance here, which presents rather an unfavourable aspect. It is this: The 42d regiment must have seen the proceedings of the Highland Society, as well as my narrative in behalf of LUTZ; and, as their reluctance to appear in a newspaper has been overcome in the latter, I could wish to see a satisfactory reason why it was not overcome in the former case. Having suffered the Highland publication, with all the embellishments of Serjeant Sinclair (or his prompter) to circulate, for a whole year, uncontradicted; having silently seen the honour of the standard, and, indeed, all the honours of the battle, attributed to themselves; having, with the same inflexible taciturnity, waited for the finishing of the medal and the cup; having thus suffered the honour of taking the Invincible Standard to be forced upon them, without an appeal to the press, it does, I think, remain for them to explain, why they have made such an appeal, when that honour was about to be restored to the soldier and the corps, to whom it belonged. I cannot help observing, too, that I perceive, with deep regret, that, even in this narrative, there appears a disposition still to ascribe *to the 42d regiment alone, the chief glory of the day.* This is not, indeed, so glaring as in the proceedings of the Highland Society, where other regiments were introduced merely as the wall and the moonshine of the dramatis personæ, and where the Queen's German regiment was only mentioned for the purpose of insinuating that one of its soldiers "*picked up*," or *stole away* the Invincible Standard. The present narrative is more just, but yet it does, in the main, represent the 42d regiment as having been the *principals*, and the other corps as little more than their *auxiliaries*, their scouts and reserves. I lament this the more, as it must naturally tend to excite resentment in the other corps, who behaved so gallantly on that day, and to disturb that harmony which ever ought to exist in the army.

With respect to the abusive and malignant paragraphs that have, in the several newspapers, been subjoined to the NARRATIVE, by way of remarks, I must leave the public to determine to whom they ought to

be ascribed, not doubting that they will meet with, as they certainly merit, the contempt of every honest and honourable man.

The claim of LUTZ now being established and confirmed beyond all controversy, I shall, in my next, offer some observations as to the REWARD to which he is entitled.

London, 8th Feb. 1803. WM. COBBETT.

P. S.—The lovers of truth and justice will be glad to hear, that, amongst the numerous copies which have been sold of LUTZ's portrait, several have gone to Petersburgh, Vienna, and Berlin; from which latter place I have received a request to publish my Narrative in *French* as well as English.

Since the above was written, the following excellent article has appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, from which my readers will perceive, as I do with great pleasure, that that paper has now made some reparation for its former injustice to LUTZ.

INVINCIBLE STANDARD.—From the different narratives which have been published respecting the Invincible Standard, it appears clearly that Major Stirling, of the 42d regiment, took a French standard, which was afterwards lost. The *Narrative* published by the officers of the 42d regiment, however, does not state that the standard which Lutz carried to head quarters was the identical standard which Major Stirling had taken, and Sinclair had lost. Perhaps in the confusion, Major Stirling might not have examined it with such accuracy as to be able to identify it. The evidence of Lutz having taken the standard, which he brought to head-quarters, *is not in the slightest degree affected* by the Narrative of the officers of the 42d. Serjeant Sinclair's assertion, that Lutz picked it up after he himself was wounded, is an *absurd* conclusion of his own mind, and *is not founded on any testimony or evidence whatever*. Admitting, however, the standard brought in by Lutz to be that which Major Stirling had previously taken, of which, though it could perhaps be gathered from other circumstances, the narratives afford *no* evidence, it is very probable that the French soldiers who wounded and cut down Sinclair, seeing a French standard, or indeed any Standard, would take it back. In the one case it was preventing a trophy remaining in the hands of the English; in the other it was taking one from them.—It appears that much unnecessary and useless dispute has arisen from the premature credit which was given to the narrative of Sinclair, and founding upon it conclusions totally unsupported by evidence. The 42d regiment, it is proved and admitted, behaved with great gallantry, but their injudicious friends, by ascribing to them *the whole glory* attached to the capture of the Invincible Standard, as it is called, placed them in a situation which *must be unpleasant to them*. The mere circumstance of taking a standard does not of itself prove any superior or exclusive merit in any corps, particularly when movements and attacks are combined. The French, with whom the 42d were engaged, were, it is admitted by their officers, defeated, not merely by their exertions, but by the exertions likewise of some companies of the 58th regiment and other corps; and the 28th regiment, the 58th, part of the 40th, and the Queen's regiment, all behaved just as well as the 42d. The attempt to give an exclusive merit to any in particular creates jealousy and heart-burnings in the rest. The 42d ought not to lay any claim to the standard which Lutz brought in, because it was unquestionably LOST by them; nay, as it is proved by several witnesses, and agrees with probability, that it again fell into the hands of the enemy, and was then taken by Lutz, *to Lutz the merit, whatever it is, belongs*. It would be idle to enquire what sort of property, or if any property can be created in a standard once taken and then lost. Surely it is absurd to say, that there can be any the most naked and metaphysical species of property formed by the momentous occupation of a thing in battle which may be won and lost fifty times over. A regiment, which, in the beginning of a battle, had taken a piece of cannon, would act very absurdly to claim that cannon if it had been retaken by the enemy, and then taken and kept by another regiment. The merit of having taken the cannon may remain, but it does not in the slightest degree diminish the glory of those who took it a second time. As to the present question, it is of the same kind. *It was not owing to the 42d that the standard reached head-quarters.* It does appear to have been retaken, and was just as much the property of the enemy as it was before the battle began, but for Lutz and the exertions of the different corps who were engaged, and who aided the 42d, pressed by the superior numbers of the enemy. We see no reason to prefer one regiment to another, neither do we see reason why the 42d regiment should *lay any claim* to that standard which is now in England, unless they can clearly demonstrate that Lutz picked it up, or rather stole it from Sinclair, *the contrary of which is established by the best evidence yet produced.—Morning Chronicle, Feb.* 11, 1803.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

You will now, probably, remember that, after having, in the year 1796, shewn you the fatal effects which must inevitably arise to you from *the cession of Louisiana to France*, and after having been outrageously abused and reviled by you for so doing, turning from you with that disgust and disdain, which your conduct was well calculated to excite, I foretold not only your present troubles, but the time and manner of their arrival and their operations, concluding with these words: "I also will laugh at your calamity; "I will mock when your fear cometh." Yet, believe me, I do not *laugh* at your calamity; I do not *mock* at your fear. With some few exceptions, I have long forgiven and forgotten all the injuries, with which the worst of you, in your folly and your madness, endeavoured to load me; while, on the other hand, I cherish the remembrance of all those acts of indulgence and of friendship which I have, in greater abundance than any other person, experienced at American hands. If, in the State of Pennsylvania, there are twenty miscreants, who,

if strict justice had her course, would perish by me or by my sons, there are hundreds for whom we ought, were it necessary, to lay down our lives. If no man ever had more enemies, no one ever had half so many friends, and these the warmest and most sincere. Never, therefore, does America, and Pennsylvania in particular, come athwart my mind unaccompanied with the best wishes for their prosperity and happiness.

With these sentiments it is that I now take up the pen to address you once more on the subject of Louisiana, or rather, of those acts of rigour and injustice, if not of open hostility, which I am more than ever persuaded, you will have to submit to, or to resist, on the part of your new and insolent neighbour.

In 1796, I earnestly laboured to persuade you, that, unless, before a peace took place between England and France, you got the better of your prejudices and formed an alliance with England, that peace would inevitably place the French at the mouth and on the banks of the Mississippi, which would be soon followed by the utter ruin of your Western States, if not by a dissolution of the Union.* The moment the peace came, the cession, or rather the *surrender*, of the territory in question to France, was announced to the world; and so far my prediction was confirmed. Still, however, you had *hopes*. It is the great characteristic of all those, who fall by the arms or intrigues of France, to entertain a sort of vague undefined hope, long after all foundation for what is worthy of the name of hope has ceased to exist. You amused yourselves with a notion, that France had no serious intention of settling in Louisiana; or, that, at any rate, she might be wheedled or bribed from her design. Vain imagination! Yet you were told, that negotiations were set on foot for this purpose; and, your minister at Paris really was *heard* upon the subject, but a hearing was all he obtained. Indeed, to suppose, that France would, except for some immense equivalent, abandon a project, the greatest that even her gigantic ambition ever conceived, and, at the same time, the easiest of execution; to suppose that she would, merely for the sake of retaining your good will, yield, or delay to take possession of, a territory, which must eventually give her the command of North America and the West Indies; to suppose that she would, in one single stipulation, and without half a world in exchange, relinquish her hold on the produce of the United States, the mines of Mexico, and the navigation of England, was a stretch of credulity even, I should have thought, far beyond the ample creed of a mercantile American politician. The deception is, however, now at an end: your President has informed you, that Louisiana is to be taken possession of by France, and we, on this side of the ocean, see her armament, for that purpose, ready to quit the ports of one of her allies, with whose present situation it may be well worth your while to familiarize your minds. And here I cannot but recollect, the joy with which you hailed the entrance of the French into Amsterdam! Far be reproach from my heart! but I must ask, if you do not now repent of your folly and injustice? if you do not now anticipate an awful retribution?

But, to make you feel the effects of French fraternity, to give you a foretaste of that which is to come, it has not required the arrival of a French army in Louisiana, nor even of a French agent at New Orleans. The Spaniards, at whose defeats, while they were opposed to your beloved France, you constantly exulted, are, by the means of those defeats, become the vassals of France, the instruments in her hands, the claws with which she occasionally extends her grasp beyond her own physical capacity; these Spaniards, for endeavouring to develope whose subaltern intrigues your government had once the folly to persecute me; * these fallen and despied Spaniards, are now become the rod for the commencement of that flagellation, under which your country is to smart. The Intendant of New Orleans has, it seems, issued an order, that none of your produce shall be introduced into that port, without paying a duty of six *per centum ad valorem*, and that it shall not be exported except to countries pointed out by the Spanish government. This restriction has, of course, been severely felt. Your agents are flocking home from New Orleans, your merchants trading thither have their vessels sent back empty and their property blocked up, and your cultivators in the four states, whose only out-let is by the mouth of the Mississippi, are clamouring with discontent.† And, are you surprized

* See the passage alluded to, extracted into Vol. I. p. 199.——See the entire Tract in Porcupine's Works, Vol. IV. p. 271.

* See Porcupine's Works, Vol. VII. p. 352.

† On the 2d Dec. 1802, the following message was transmitted to Congress by the president, relative to the violation of the treaty with Spain.

"Gentlemen, I now transmit a report from the "Sec. of State, with the information requisite in "your resolution of the 27th inst. In making "this communication, I deem it proper to ob-"serve, that I was led by the regard due to the "rights and interests of the United States, and to "the just sensibility of a portion of our fellow-"citizens more immediately affected by the ir-"regular proceedings at New Orleans, to lose not "a moment in causing every step to be taken

at this? Was not this precise case pointed out to you a twelve month ago? Read again a letter, which I addressed to you, on the 2d of March last,* and which was republished in a great part of your three hundred newspapers In that letter you will find the following words:—"By your treaty "with Spain, you obtained the free navi- "gation of the Mississippi. This freedom "you have now to obtain from France; "and be you well assured, that she will "not grant it without an equivalent. What "this equivalent may be, it is impossible "for me precisely to point out; but be it "what it may, you must yield it, or yield "your hopes to retain the dominion of the "Western States, which would be instant- "ly ruined by the closing of the Missis- "sippi, and which, to avoid that ruin, "would transfer their allegiance to the "power, on whose pleasure their prospe- "rity will solely depend."—But still you *hoped*! I read your reflections on my letter; I saw and I pitied your blindness. You thought my fears were "not totally desti- "tute of foundation," but you disliked my "desponding tone," and asserted that I under-rated your power. No, no; alas! it was not your *power* that I doubted of, but your *will*. Like us, you have the arms and the hands, but, like us, you want the directing mind and the animating soul wherewith to oppose the sagacious, bold, and persevering foe, who is now approaching the very vitals of your country.

I have heretofore expatiated upon the evils, which will, which unavoidably must, be produced, by the shutting you out of all the ports in the late Spanish, now French, territories, and from closing, in fact, the River Mississippi against you. Begging leave, therefore, to refer you to what I have said on that part of the subject, † I propose to confine myself, at present, to an inquiry whether or not France has a *right* to exclude you from the use of the ports and the waters here mentioned; a question, which, I am afraid, must be determined in the *affirmative*.

And here pray let me caution you to divest yourselves, in the present instance, of that overbearing turn of mind, which you have contracted from the success of your revolution, from the flattery heaped on you by Europeans, and particularly from your transactions with England, which have rendered you, amongst nations, what, amongst individuals, one would term *a spoiled child*. Let me beseech you to recollect, that you have not *now* to negotiate with a power, accustomed to concession; with a power, which, for the sake of peace and plenty, would receive £600,000 as a commutation for a debt of £5,000,000. France has no debts, no stock, in your country; you have no hold on her, and, if you had, she would sever herself from it, though it cost her a limb. Count, therefore, I conjure you, on nothing but on *right* and on *might*: of the latter I shall speak hereafter; it is to a few observations relative to the former that I now have to request your patient attention.

The territories, which have now passed from the hands of Spain into those of France, include all the land on the western bank of the Mississippi, from its mouth to its source, and, on the eastern bank,* from the mouth of that river to the *Portage de la Croix*, which, reckoning the windings of the river, is more than 200 miles from the principal entrance at *Fort Balise*, and about 70 miles above *New Orleans*. Thus France has the sovereignty of the soil, on both sides of the river, for the space of 200 miles from its entrance, a space which you have, it appears to me, no other right to navigate, than that which you derive from the treaty concluded with Spain in 1795, according to which treaty, his Most Catholic Majesty "has agreed, that the navigation of the "said River Mississippi, in its whole "breadth, from the source to the ocean, "shall be free only to his subjects and the "citizens of the United States, unless *he* "should extend this privilege to the sub- "jects of other powers, *by special conven- "tion*."† —Then, it is, in a subsequent part of the same treaty agreed, that, "in con-

"which the occasion claimed from me, being "equally aware of the obligation to maintain, in "all cases, the rights of the nation, and to em- "ploy, for that purpose, those just and honour- "able means which belong to the character of the "United States.

"Signed) *T. Jefferson.*"

The message was accompanied by letters from the American Consul at New Orleans, the proclamation of the Intendant, a letter from the Governor of the Mississipi territory, written to the Governor of Louisiana, and a letter from the Governor of Kentucky to the president.—Three hundred passengers have arrived at Baltimore from New Orleans.

* See Register Vol. I. 202.

† See Porcupine's Works, Vol. IV. p. 271—Register, Vol. I. p. 199.—266,—343—540—797.—Register, Vol. II. p. 6—27—38—69—125—148—187—233—248—387—412—650—826.

* It is said, that France is to have all Florida, but I know *for certain*, that she is to have all the territory lying between the Mississipi and the river *Tombechbe*, which, after traversing the Western part of Georgia, falls, at the end of 300 miles, into the *Bay of Mobile*.

† Article IV.—See Laws of the United States, Vol. IV. p. 224.

" sequence of the stipulations contained in " the fourth article, his Most Catholic Ma- " jesty will permit the citizens of the " United States, *for the space of three years* " *from this time*, to deposit their merchan- " dizes and effects in the port of New " Orleans, and to export them from thence " without paying any other duty than a " fair price for the hire of the stores; and " his Majesty promises either to continue " this permission, if he finds, during that " time, that it is not prejudicial to the in- " terest of Spain, or, if he should not agree " to continue it there, he will assign to " them, on another part of the banks of " the Mississippi, an equivalent establish- " ment." *

It is of a breach of this latter stipulation, of which, as I have already noticed, you now complain, and, not without some foundation, if we were to consider the King of Spain as still being the sovereign of Louisiana; for, it does seem, that, when a transitory covenant, though fulfilled, has been continued on in its observance, even without being renewed, it continues to be binding on one of the parties as long as it is strictly complied with by the other. But, independent of the sovereignty having long ago been transferred to France, this stipulation is encumbered with so many circumstances, the engagement, on the part of his Catholic Majesty, is so perfectly indefinite, as to the time, manner, and place, of assigning, " on *another part of the banks* of the " Mississippi, an *equivalent* establishment;" there is, in short, such unbounded latitude for interpretation, that it would be very hazardous to assert, that what you now complain of is really a breach of the treaty of 1795, even supposing the sovereignty of Louisiana to be still in the King of Spain; and, when we consider the Spaniards as being themselves possessors by sufferance, or rather, as being nothing more, in the present instance, than the *agents* of France, your ground of complaint, on this score, vanishes altogether.

But, the great question is, whether you have or have not, in consequence of the cession to France of the territories now under our view, lost, not only all right to the use of any port or place therein, but also to *navigate* on any of that part of the River Mississippi, which lies between the *Portage de la Croix* (the termination of your own territory) and the sea, a space, as I before observed, of more than two hundred miles. It appears to me, that you have lost this right, and I once more bespeak your patience, while I state the reasons, on which this opinion is founded.

That your right of navigating upon the waters (if not extended by specific convention) terminates at the same point with your right of walking upon the land, by the side of which those waters run, is a principle universally acknowledged; it is founded in reason, in justice, in the law, and in the practice of nations, with the very existence of which it is coeval. I remember, indeed, when your wild democratic scribblers clamoured against the government for not *compelling* the king (I am afraid they called him the " crown- " ed monster") of Spain to open the month of the Mississippi to the produce of your lands; for not compelling him to yield you your *natural* rights. I remember much of this incoherent and hectoring bombast, and though it might excite nothing but a smile, when applied to such a neighbour as the feeble and sluggardly Spaniards, it will, if applied to the French, prove, I fear, something worse than ridiculous. Those profound writers, who conduct the London newspapers, have, I perceive, done you the honour, in this case, to espouse your cause, and most vociferously to assert your claims and echo your complaints; but, give me leave to caution you not to place too much reliance on these diurnal civilians, whose minds are as volatile and whose principles as transient as the flying folios on which their opinions are inscribed. No; listen not to these jurists of the mob; from their hazarded and noisy assertions turn to the dictates of reason and the maxims of the law. —" Rivers and lakes," says MARTENS, " are " useful for navigation or for fishing, or for " other emoluments arising from their pos- " session; and, therefore, the powers that " are *masters of the banks* have a right to ap- " propriate the use of them *exclusively to* " *themselves*." After thus stating the principle, he proceeds to the practice of nations in this respect: " In general," says he, " they do forbid foreigners to fish on them; " but, with respect to *navigation*, as such a " prohibition would produce retaliation, and " as it is contrary to the commercial liberty " generally introduced in Europe, foreigners " are now permitted, in time of peace, to " navigate freely and without restraint. " This liberty is founded, in part, on *trea-* " *ties*, and, in some demi-sovereign states, " on *law*. But, in every case, where it is " only founded *on custom*, that custom does " not hinder a nation from making *what-* " *ever regulations and restrictions it pleases*, or " from exercising over such parts of its ter-

* Article XII.—Laws U. S. Vol. IV. p. 237.

"ritory *all the rights of sovereign domi-*
"*nion.*" *

Since, then, it is evident, that your right to navigate on the waters of the Mississippi, from the point where your territory terminates to the mouth of that river, is, and must be, from its very nature, purely a right of covenant, and rests solely upon the treaty of 1795, it remains to be considered, whether that treaty is or is not any longer in force; whether France, the new possessor of Louisiana, is, or is not, bound to adhere to the stipulations, made with you, relative to that country, by its former sovereign, the King of Spain.

To make out the affirmative of this question both your and our newspapers will swarm with arguments and cases. It will be urged, even to satiety, that, when a man purchases a farm encumbered with a foot-path or a cart way, he receives the encumbrance along with the property, the conveyance of which does by no means impair the individual or public right, the exercise of which constitutes the encumbrance. But, the principles and practice of the municipal law relative to property, though they sometimes serve to illustrate, must not be confounded with, those of the public law relative to dominion, the reason of which is too evident to need pointing out. Accordingly, it is a principle, in which, I believe, all the writers on the law of nations are perfectly of accord, that, "Treaties, properly so called, "*cease to be obligatory*, when the sovereign "power, with whom they were concluded, "ceases to exist, and when the state *passes* "*under the dominion of another power.*" †

This, like every other principle of public law, is founded in the nature and necessity of the cases, to which it is applied; for, so very different are, and must be, the relationships of different powers towards any one power, on so many other conditions does every separate condition depend, that a treaty, or part of a treaty, made between any two powers in the world, can scarcely ever be such as to admit of a change of parties on one side or on the other, of the truth of which a more forcible illustration cannot be cited than the very instance before us. Should you, however, in defiance of reason and of written authority, insist upon bending the obligations of the treaty of 1795, to the maxims of municipal law; should you still insist, that, along with the territory of Spain, France became the possessor of all the stipulations which her predecessor had made relative to that territory, and that, of course, from the moment of the cession, she became one of the parties to the treaty, as far as it related to your privileges on, and in the mouth of, the Mississippi; should you persist in this course of reasoning, then are those stipulations certainly no longer in force, for, *since* Louisiana was ceded to her, since she, according to your doctrine, became, in the place of Spain, a party to some of the stipulations in the treaty of 1795, there has subsisted *a war between you and her*, by which war those stipulations, being merely of a *commercial* nature, were, to all intents and purposes, abrogated and annulled, in which state they still remain, because unrenewed and unnoticed in your pacific convention of 1800.

This, then, is the dilemma to which you are reduced: if France, by receiving the sovereignty of Louisiana from Spain, became a party to the stipulations in your favour, those stipulations have been abrogated by a subsequent war; and if she has never become a party to the stipulations, they can, of course, with respect to her, have no obligation. Thus, in whatever light, I have been able to view the question, your conventional right of navigating on, and using the ports of, the Mississippi, clearly appears to be at an end; and, as you can have no other right than that of convention, it seems to me no less evident, that France, as the sole sovereign both of the land and the waters, has an indisputable right to make, relative thereto, whatever regulations and restrictions she pleases, and, of course, absolutely to exclude you from any of, and from all, the privileges, which you have therein latterly enjoyed, of deposit, entrance, and navigation.

Submitting these arguments to your serious consideration, I reserve, for another letter, some remarks, which I have to make on the claim that France will probably prefer to the sovereignty of the territory, on the *eastern* bank of the Mississippi, comprising part of the North Western State, part of Georgia, and the whole of the States of Tennessee and Kentucky: as also on the consequences of the several measures she will be likely to adopt, and on the means of *preventing* those consequences.——My object is, to make you look your situation in the face, to prepare you for defence, with the pen and with the sword; and to call down just indignation, if not punishment, on the heads of those, by whose ignorance or whose wickedness the menacing calamity, both to you and to us, has been produced.

London, 10*th Feb.* 1803. WM. COBBETT.

* Martens's Compendium of the Law of Nations; London edition, 1802, p. 167, where he cites several public papers.

† Martens's Compendium; London edition, 1802, p. 56.—The same principle will be found stated more at large by VATTEL, BYNKERSHOEK, ZOUCH, and others.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Milan, Dec. 30.—The minister of the interior, in consequence of having received information, that in several communes of this Rep. secret societies are established, and private meetings held, has given notice, that no society of this kind can be suffered without the express permission of the gov. and that the officers of police must always have free admission to them. All who offend against this notice, will be considered as disturbers of the public peace, and treated accordingly.

Genoa, Jan. 6.—The Italian Gazettes say, that a French corps will march to Tuscany, and embark at Leghorn. It is added, that if the English shall longer refuse to evacuate Malta, a French army will march to Naples, and thence proceed to undertake further operations.

Ratisbon, Jan. 17.—The Imperial Plenipo. received on the 15th a courier from Vienna, with advice, that on the 13th inst. the exchange took place, of the ratifications of the convention concluded at Paris on the 26th Dec. relative to the G. D. of Tuscany's indemnities.

Vienna, Jan. 19.—The G. D. of Tuscany has accepted the convention that has been concluded relative to his indemnities, though he has lost more than he has received. The late Chancellor of the Netherlands, M. Von Crumpipen, has been appointed by H. R. H. commissary to take possession, in his name, of his new states.

Berne, Jan. 21.—There have been of late frequent disputes between the citizens and the Helvetic soldiers; to prevent them in future, the commandant has sent detachments to several of the public-houses in the environs of the city.

Jan. 25.—It is said that Gen. Ney has presented a note to the council of execution, in which he complains that English merchandize are sold from different parts of Switzerland to the inhabitants, on the frontiers of France. Gen. Ney has pointed out where these depôts of English merchandize are, and has desired that rigorous measures may be adopted to prevent this contraband trade in future.

Basle, Jan. 26.—We have received from Paris the important intelligence that all the cantonal organizations are finished and approved of by the Firs Consul. They will be officially transmitted to the superior authorities of the 19 Cantons, for the purpose of being presented, for the *acceptance* of the people of Switzerland. The general constitution for Switzerland will be discussed, and there is every reason to think that it will be adopted.

Hague, Jan. 25.—The business of the Batavian reseriptions payable after the peace is not yet terminated. The Batavian govt. has answered the note presented to it on this subject on the part of the French govt. The answer has been sent to Paris, and we wait the result.

Paris, Jan. 27.—Gen. Lannes, Envoy Ext. and Minister Plenip. to the Prince Regent of Portugal, was on Sunday presented to the First Consul, by the Minister for Foreign Affairs. At this audience he took leave of the First Consul, previously to his return to his station at the Portuguese Court. —The First Consul recommended to him to do justice to, and to protect the French trade at Lisbon, as he had begun to do in the first year of his mission. He particularly signified that he was satisfied with Gen. Lannes's services in that station, up to the present hour.—Moniteur.

Feb. 5.—In consequence of the intelligence of the death of Gen. Leclerc, and the succours of which the army stands in need, the Minister of War has called for volunteers in the different corps. Near 60,000 veterans have inscribed themselves.—The First Consul has ordered the Minister of War to testify his satisfaction to those brave men, to announce to them that 15,000 men being about to take their departure, new succours are not at present necessary, and to inform them, that he sees with the greatest satisfaction, that love of glory and danger which manifests the energy of Frenchmen, and which is a sure guarantee of the prosperity of the great people.—Moniteur.

Basse Terre, Guadaloupe, Dec. 2.—This colony continues to be one of the most tranquil of the Antilles. The brigands, reduced to a small number, and for the most part without arms or ammunition, are pursued even by the field negroes. Some, driven from the hills by famine, have appeared on the heights of the Commune of Petit-Bourg: they have been either taken or killed.—The judiciary organization is terminated. That of the civil Admin. is accomplished. The colonists, satisfied with their lot, are sedulously employed in commerce and agriculture. Every thing goes on rapidly and with order, to a certain prosperity.

Cape, St. Domingo, Dec. 14.—The 86th demi-brigade, which was expected in Nov. arrived in the course of the present month.

Paris, Feb. 2.—The consistory for the proclamation of the French cardinals was held at Rome on the 17th Jan. As soon as they were proclaimed, the Sec. of State dispatched Prince Justiniani, guard-noble to his Holiness, to give him advice of their nomination.—According to the usage, Prince Justiniani travelled as a courier: he passed through Lyons, where he delivered his first dispatch to the Archbishop of that diocese. He then proceeded to Paris, where he alighted at the residence of the Cardinal Legate: thence he repaired to the house of the Counsellor of State, charged with the care of the public worship. After that he delivered the dispatches with which he was charged for the Archbishop of Paris, and Archb. of Rouen, who was accidentally at Paris. He set out again in the evening for Tours, where he is to fulfil a similar mission to the Archb. of that place. When the Archb. of Paris and Rouen were officially informed of their nomination, each of them presented himself at the audience of the First Consul, to return him thanks. The First Consul gave them permission to carry the badge of their new dignity, which has been presented to them by the bearer of the dispatches from the office of Sec. of State. The hats are to be brought by the prelate Dorea, whom his Holiness has made choice of to be his apostolic envoy, and who was to have left Rome 12 days after the first courier.—His Holiness pronounced a discourse on the occasion of this nomination in the consistory of the 17th Jan.—"The First Consul of the French Repub. says his Holiness, "always desirous of promoting union, has, by joining with us in the concordat, re-established the Catholic religion, which was almost extinct in France, and placed it in such a state that hopes are entertained of its gaining strength every day. This illustrious personage having promised us all his care towards the accomplishment of so great an object, has written to us, that in order to attain it more speedily, he conceived it would be of advantage to create four cardinals among the newly instituted French bishops.—"The desires and demands of this personage, to whom, next to God, we are indebted, not only for having diverted the furious tempests which had arisen against the church, but also for there-estab-

of the Catholic religion in a nation whose dominion is so extensive, have touched our soul; we therefore grant this promotion in the same manner as Leo. X. of happy memory, granted a similar one on the concordat between him and Francis I."—His Holiness then proceeded to nominate J. Fesch, Archb. of Lyons, uncle to the First Consul; J. de Dieu Raymond Boisgelin, Archb. of Tours; E. H. Cambaceres, Archb. of Rouen; the 4th he reserves *in petto*. To these, his Holiness adds, in consideration of the reception, he received at Venice, in the time of his distress, a son of Saint Marc, or patrician of Venice, P. A. Zozzy. There was also a nomination of three Cardinals for the Roman state: F. M. Locatilli, J. Castiglioni, and C. Erskine.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Letter addressed by Mr. Jefferson, President of the United States, to the National Institute of France.

Citizen President and Secretaries. — I have received the letter by which you had the kindness to announce to me, that the National Institute of the Arts and Sciences has elected me as Foreign Associate for the class of Moral and Political Sciences. I receive this favour with a sensibility equal to the respect which a body of *savans* of the first order ought to inspire. Without having any right to pretend to the title of their colleague, I accept it as a proof of the spirit of fraternity, which unites in one family all those who cultivate letters and the sciences, in whatever part of the globe they reside. Accept, citizens President and Secretaries, for yourselves and your colleagues, the assurances of my high consideration and of my respect.

Washington, Nov. 14, 1802. *Th. Jefferson.*

Decree of the French Government relative to the Port and Commerce of Rouen. St. Cloud, Jan. 23.

The govt. of the Republic having considered a report by the minister for internal affairs, ordains as follows: — Art. I. In the port of Rouen, there shall be a staple for the reception and sale of all goods and commodities from the colonies, or elsewhere, which are not prohibited by law.—II. The town of Rouen shall provide suitable public buildings for the staple. A plan of the ground and buildings shall be presented to the gov. That plan, if approved, will receive the sanction of a special order from the gov.—III. The staple at Rouen shall be considered in law as a part of Havre. Ships freighted for Rouen shall therefore first present at Havre exact accounts of the quantities and qualities of the goods which they are to deliver at Rouen. The chief officer of the customs at Havre, shall, upon receiving such account, formally record and authenticate the declaration conveying it. The officers of the customs at Havre, when there are no suspicions of smuggling, shall be at liberty to exempt any vessel from the necessity of entering the port of Havre. Ships arriving at Rouen from Havre shall present the account authenticated by the principal officer of the customs at Havre, to the custom-house officers at Rouen, when these come on borad the said ships in the river. If the goods are not exactly such in quantity and quality as the authenticated declaration describes them, the owners shall be held guilty of an act of fraud. The cargo shall be inspected at its entrance into the staple of Rouen, and if its value be either greater or less than it is stated in the declarative act, this shall be taken as a proof of the fraud.—IV. The weight and qualities of all cargoes of goods re-exported from Rouen, shall be specified in a manifesto from the director of the customs at Rouen. That manifesto shall be transmitted to the chief officer of the customs at Havre. At Havre the cargo shall be inspected in comparison with the manifesto. If the goods be either greater or less in value, than is there expressed; this shall also be regarded as an act of fraud.—V. The minister of the treasury, and the minister for internal affairs, are directed to put this decree in execution, and to add it to the register of the laws. (Signed) *Buonaparté.*

Extract from the English Argus, printed at Paris.

Paris, Feb. 2.— In the English news-paper, the Argus, there is this day a very remarkable observation respecting the conspiracy of the 3d Nivôse. The writer is examining how far Mr. Windham can be considered as implicated in that horrible plot, and whether the late administration can be supposed privy to it. His words are—If we had no other proof of this privacy than the odious protection given to Georges, by the cabinet of St. James's, and by its agent at Lisbon, it would not be fair to make the accusation that they were concerned in the plot. But we are not to be guided in our judgment by mere suspicions or slight proofs, when we are in possession of an open avowal of the crime. In the debates on the preliminaries of peace, Mr. W. rose, and among the advantages of continuing the war, to which he attached great importance, he mentioned *the probability of seeing some opportunity recur of making an attempt on the life of the First Consul.* Such is the declaration of a member of parl. made at one of its most numerous meetings. I was present, continues the editor, when this observation was made; and I call on every member of parl. then present, to vouch for the accuracy with which I have stated Mr. W's. expression. I particularly call on Mr. Nicholls, at this moment in Paris, who spoke in terms of great indignation of this sanguinary provocation of the ex-minister of war. But I go farther, and since I have named a member of parl. now in Paris, I ask Mr. N. whether it is not true, that after having heard of this horrible project from the mouth of Mr. W. he went to ask Mr. Addington, *whether he meant to touch on the article of the assassination?* and received for answer, that he was unwilling to do this, from a fear of giving offence to Mr. Windham.—*Clef du Cabinet.*

DOMESTIC.

Gibraltar, Jan. 10.—The garrison is as quiet and regular as usual. The 3 ringleaders in the late disturbances, were shot on the grand parade, on the 4th, in presence of the whole garrison, who were under arms on the occasion. The firing party was drawn by lot from the men of the 25th reg.

The unhappy sufferers manifested great contrition for their crime, and acknowledged the justice of their sentence, which seemed to make a deep impression on the troops, who, as usual, were afterwards marched by file past the dead bodies.

On Monday, the 7th inst. came on the trial of *Edward Marcus Despard* for High Treason. The *Attorney General* addressed the jury in a speech of considerable length. The number of witnesses called were 17. Mr. Serj. *Best* and Mr. *Gurney* addressed the Court in behalf of the prisoner, and were replied to by the *Solicitor General*. The arguments of counsel on both sides being concluded, *The Lord President* summoned up the evidence in a speech of nearly two hours. At 2 o'clock on Tuesday morning the jury retired, and after remaining in the Traverse Room 35 minutes, returned a verdict of GUILTY, but recommended the prisoner to mercy, on account of the high testimonials to his character and conduct.

On Wednesday, the 9th. inst. the remaining prisoners in confinement for High Treason, were put upon their trial, which continued till ½-past 6 on Tuesday morning; after the charge of the Chief Justice, the jury retired, and deliberated till 8 o'clock, when they appeared in court, and returned the following verdicts:—John Wood—*guilty*.—Thomas Broughton—*guilty*.—John Francis—*guilty*.—Thomas Newman—*guilty*. recommended to mercy.—Daniel Tyndall—*guilty*, recommended to mercy.—James Sedgwick Ratton—*guilty*.—William Lander—*guilty*, recommended to mercy.—Arthur Graham—*guilty*.—Samuel Smith—*not guilty*.—John M'Namara—*guilty*.—Thomas Philips—*not guilty*.—John Doyle—*not guilty*.—Sentence of death was pronounced on all who were found guilty, Edward Marcus Despard included; after which the commission ended. (*A correct report of the trials will be preserved in the Supplement to Vol.* 3.)

PARLIAMENTARY MINUTES.

Thursday, Feb 3.—LORDS.—Two petitions against the Woollen Manufactury Bill, and several petitions relative to the mode of hearing appeals, were presented.—Lord Ellenborough brought in a private bill from the judges, and certain papers previously ordered were laid on the table.

COMMONS.—A new writ was issued for the election of a member for Ipswich, in the room of Chs. Alex. Crickett, Esq. deceased.—Mr. Keene moved for a variety of documents, among which were several letters from Ld. Macartney to the court of directors of the East India Company, during the years 1784 and 5; copy of the minutes transmitted by Ld. Hobart and Ld. Clive, to the Court of Directors in 1799 and 1800.—Mr. Tierney presented a petition from Midhurst complaining of an undue election.—Mr. Corry presented a number of financial accounts and petitions relative to Ireland.—A new writ was issued for Hastings, in the room of Lord Glenbervie, who since his election has accepted of the place of Surveyor of His Majesty's Forests.—Mr. Ormsby presented a petition from the Corporation of Sligo.—Mr. J. C. Beresford presented a petition from the royal canal company, praying for leave to chuse directors, &c. and to bring in a bill to alter and amend the act past in the last session of the Irish parliament.

Friday, Feb 4.—LORDS.—The Ld. Chancellor stated, that a number of Peers had given in their lists respecting the appointment of members of that house to compose the board of East India Judicature.—Certain accounts directed to be annually laid before parliament were presented.—The Ld. Chancellor moved, that so much of the Act of Union as relates to the mode of summoning four of the Irish Bishops to attend in parliament, be referred to the Committee of Privileges on Thursday next.—Certain documents relative to the state of the convicts employed at Portsmouth, and on the river Thames, were presented.

COMMONS.—A petition from the Malsters of Newark-upon-Tweed, and another from the Corporation of Liverpool, relative to the formation of new Wet Docks were presented.—A person from the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, presented the annual accounts.—Gen. Gascoyne moved for an account of the number of ships, &c. employed in the transport service, from Jan. 3, 1801. to Jan. 3. 1803.—Mr. Vansittart moved for an account of the amount of notes of the Bank of England, from the 1st. of June to the 1st of Aug. 1801, and so on for every two months till the 1st of Feb. 1803, distinguishing the amount of those under £.5—Mr. Corry moved for an account of the ordinary revenues and extraordinary resources of Ireland; for the imports and exports of Ireland for the last 18 years; for the number of vessels built in Ireland last year, with their tonnage, &c.; for the number of vessels cleared outward and entered inward from the ports of Ireland last year; and for an account of the public and unfunded debt of Ireland.

Monday, Feb 7.—LORDS—Counsel was heard on the Scotch Appeal, Sir W. Lawson, *v.* R. L. Ross, Esq.—Ordered, on the motion of Lord Walsingham, that all the Lords present do form a committee to-morrow, for the purpose of inspecting the list of names delivered in for the East India Judicature.—Certain accounts were presented, relative to the reduction of the National Debt.

COMMONS.—Mr. W. Dundas moved, that the time for receiving private petitions be enlarged to the 18th inst.—Agreed to.—The Sheriffs of London presented at the bar, three petitions, 1st. for leave to bring in a bill for enlarging Smithfield market, 2d for leave to establish a corn market; and 3d, for an advance of money from the consolidated fund, to carry into effect an Act for the Improvement of the Port of London.—An account was presented, from the Bank, of the number of Bank Notes in circulation, pursuant to the order of Friday last.—On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for leave to bring in a bill to continue an Act of last Session, for continuing the restriction on the payment in specie by the Bank of England, a short debate ensued; the speakers were Mr. Addington, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Fox, Mr. Banks, Lord Hawkesbury, Sir F. Baring, and Mr. Vansittart.—Leave granted.

Tuesday, Feb. 8.—LORDS.—The report of the committee appointed to examine the list of names for the East India Judicature was presented, and referred back to the committee, in order that their lordships might inquire whether any of the peers whose names were set down were dead.

lified. Lord Pelham moved that the Woollen Manufactures Bill be referred to a committee of the whole house, on the 8th of March.

COMMONS.—A committee was appointed to try the petition for the Burgh of Dumfermline.—A petition was presented from the town of Carnarvon, forleave to bring in a bill for improving the harbour of that place.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the Committee of Supply for Irish Affairs, upon which a short conversation on the state of the poor of Ireland took place between Mr. Bagwell, Mr. Corry, Mr. Wickham and Gen. Tarleton.—Resolution agreed to.

St. James's, Feb. 2, 1803.—This day Baron Silverhjelm, Minister Resident from the King of Sweden, had a private audience of His Majesty, in which he delivered new credentials, giving him the character of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Sweden.—*Feb.* 2, 1803.—The King was this day pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on Major Charles Holloway of the Royal Engineers.—*Downig-street, Feb.* 5, 1803.—The King has been pleased to appoint Col. T. Hislop to be Lieut. Gov. of the island of Grenada and its dependencies.—*Whitehall, Feb.* 2. 1803.—The King has been pleased to order a Congé d'Elire to pass the great seal of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, empowering the dean and chapter of the Cathedral Church of Bristol to elect a bishop of that See, the same being void by the translation of the Rt. Rev. Father in God Folliott Herbert Walker, late bishop thereof, to the See of Hereford: And his Majesty has also been pleased to recommend the Hon. and Rev. G. Pelham, D.D. to be by them elected bishop of the said See of Bristol.

Prince of Wales's Council. County of Cornwall.—At a council of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, held at Carlton-House the 1st day of Feb. 1803. T. Rawlings, of Padstow, Esq. was appointed sheriff of the County of Cornwall for the year 1803, by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales in council.

STOCKS.	FRI.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THUR
Bank Stock.	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr. C.R. An.	71	71	71⅛	70⅞	—	70⅞
3 per C. Con.	70½	70⅜	70⅝	70⅛	—	70⅛
4 pr. C. Con.	86⅝	87⅛	87⅛	87⅛	—	86⅝
5 pr. Ct. Ann.	100¼	—	—	100⅜	—	—
Bank L. Ann.	20½	20½	20½	20½	—	20¼
D° S. 1778 & 9	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 per Ct. 1797	103½	103⅜	103⅜	102½	—	103½
Omnium	4¼ dis	4¼ dis	4½ dis	5¼ dis	—	5 dis

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C. T.	35	2	2 us.	LEGHORN	50
D°, at sight	35	10		NAPLES	40¾
ROTTERDAM	36	3	2 us.	GENOA	46
HAMBURGH	34	3	2 us.	VENICE, 52 livres piccole effective per £. ster.	
ALTONA	34	3	2 us.		
PARIS 1 day	24	8		LISBON	68½
PARIS	24	12	2 us.	OPORTO	68
BOURDEAUX	24	13		DUBLIN	12⅞
CADIZ	35¾		eff.	BILBOA	35⅞
MADRID	36¼		effective	AGIO, bank on Hol. p.	

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat prd.	46s.	to	62s.
Rye	35	..	38
Barley	24	..	28
Malt	43	..	47
Oats	15	..	22
Pease (white)	33	..	39
Beans (horse)	34	..	38
Flour per sack	45	..	50
Seconds	40	..	45
Coals per chal.	52	..	57

Hops per cwt.	200s.	to	224s.
Hay per load	75	..	140
Beef, per stone	4s.	to	5s. 8d.
Mutton	5s.	0d.	to 6s. 0d.
Veal	6s.	0d.	to 7s. 0d.
Pork	4s.	8d.	to 5s. 4d.
Tallow		4s.	6d.
Av. of Sugar per cwt.		37s.	2d.
Salt, per Bushel		13s.	10d.
Bread 9lb. the Qaar. Loaf			

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Address of all the respectable inhabitants of Gibraltar to his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, delivered on the 1st *of Jan.* 1803.

We, the merchants and other inhabitants of Gibraltar, feel ourselves particularly called upon, at this period, to approach your Royal Highness with sentiments of the most ardent attachment and duty.—We acknowledge with gratitude, that we have enjoyed under your Royal Highness's just and mild government the fullest protection for our persons, rights and properties.—An attention, hitherto unexampled, has been paid by your Royal Highness to the health and comfort of the inhabitants: our complaints have been answered—our grievances redressed—and our interests consulted on every occasion, with an alacrity and zeal which cannot fail to impress us with the deepest sense of your Royal Highness's goodness and condescension, when we reflect upon the other numerous and important duties of your Royal Highness's exalted station.—Placed, as we are, at a distance from our beloved Sovereign, at no period have we felt the blessings of his paternal government so sensibly and so beneficially, as since his virtues have been represented to us in the person of your Royal Highness.—Be pleased then, Sir, to accept the assurance of our unalterable attachment to your Royal Highness, an attachment not more strongly secured by our loyalty to the best of Sovereigns, than by motives of personal esteem to a mild and just governor of Gibraltar, and of gratitude to a powerful and gracious protector.

Committee of Merchants and others, Shippers of Goods from the Port of London to America, the West Indies, the Baltic, the Mediterranean, and other Foreign Parts; appointed to examine into the Depredations lately committed on their Property in the Port of London, and to detect and punish the Offenders, and prevent the like Practices in future.

At a meeting held on the 19th day of Nov. 1802, of the merchants and others, shippers of goods, it appeared from a statement then produced, that many very grievous and alarming depredations had lately been committed upon their property, and that various quantities of Goods had been stolen out of the trunks, boxes, and cases, in which they were packed, after the same had been delivered out of the merchants' warehouses, for the purpose of being shipped from the port of London, and which were supposed to be so stolen in their way to the Wharfs, from the Wharfs, or on the River Thames; and after such plunderage, the trunks, boxes, and cases, had, in many instances, been carefully packed up again, corded and matted; but when open out at the place of destination, nothing was found therein but stones and rubbish. In other instances, part of the goods only were taken away, and the Excise seals broken; and in several instances, smaller trunks, boxes, and cases, had been substituted, and filled with part of the goods contained in the trunks, boxes, and cases, in which they had been originally packed up, and the rest wholly stolen; and which nefarious conduct appeared to have been systematically carried on for a considerable time, to the great loss of the owners and others interested therein.—Resolved, That the grievances complained of at this meeting call loudly for some adequate remedy.—That a committee be appointed to examine into, and investigate the same, and use the necessary means to detect and punish the offenders, and consider of some proper plan to prevent the like depredations in future.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

It is generally our lot to begin our remarks, under this head, with an apology of a *want of room*, which our readers, perhaps, regard as totally unnecessary. Be that as it may, we think it right to observe, that this circumstance alone prevents us from entering, in the present sheet, into those observations which we have to make on the CONVENTION, lately concluded between Austria and France. Some other topics we are also obliged to postpone; and on the following ones, which call for immediate attention, we shall hereafter find occasion to speak more at large: 1. Col. Sebastiani's Report to the French Consul; 2. The Mission of Gen. Lasnes to Lisbon; 3. A Paris publication relative to Mr. Windham; 4. The Employment of English Shipping in the Service of France; 5. The Disposition of the American Govt.

COL. SEBASTIANI'S REPORT TO THE CONSUL OF FRANCE. On the audacity of this curious performance, which will be found in p. 215, it is entirely useless to remark: it is, and must be apparent to all the world; but the humbled world has so long been accustomed to this species of insult, it is so drilled to an abject submission to the will of France, that she seems, at last, to be, in some measure, authorized to assume the tone and the language, made use of on this occasion. It is useless, too, to express astonishment or indignation at the mission of Sebastiani, relative to our army in Egypt, or at the demand, made by the Envoy, on our General commanding that army. To enquire how, after all that has happened; how, after the massacres of Alexandria and of Jaffa, an emissary of Buonaparté could find confidence to present himself, totally defenceless, before the inhabitants of Egypt and the commanders of the Turks, or how it came to pass that he was so graciously received by both; to make an enquiry like this, though it should result in a clear development of the causes, would be of equal inutility. The only question worthy of our solicitude, is, what is the *object* of the report? And this question will at once be satisfactorily resolved, by comparing the practice of France, in this case, with her former practice under similar circumstances.—If we look over the gloomy history of the last fourteen years, from the seizure of Avignon, which was highly applauded by the English journalists, to the late cruel invasion of Switzerland, which those journalists condemned, we shall find, that, previous to the commission of every act of encroachment or hostility, the French have uniformly signified their intention to the world, and that too, not only in the same style and manner, but also through the columns of that same Moniteur, which, at this moment, conveys their behests to the utmost corners of the earth, and the uninterrupted existence of which, while its successive editors have been destroyed, renders it no imperfect type of the Republic itself. These intimations serve two great purposes, the first of which is to disguise some principal part of the plan and of the ultimate object. To keep the whole a secret would be impossible, and, therefore, enough is developed to bewilder, mislead, embarrass, and to produce inactivity in those, from whom opposition might reasonably be apprehended. But, the chief purpose is, to familiarize the minds of men to the possibility, and even the probability, of the stroke which is about to be inflicted on them, and, at the same time, to subdue their spirits, to deprive them of all hope from resistance, and to reconcile them to submission, by a grand, a dazzling, and a terrific display of her means. This is the art by which France has extended her power; by which the lowest of mankind have risen to more than imperial sway, and by which crowns have been tumbled in the dust; and, never was this potent art more judiciously employed, or, we fear, with a fairer prospect of success, than in the instance before us.—No resentment has been expressed, at this report, in those English journals, through which our wise and modest ministers are accustomed to convey their impotent attacks on their adversaries; we have observed, from that quarter, nothing that has even the air of disapprobation; and, though the re-occupation of Egypt is evidently the intention of Buonaparté, we have good reason to believe, that the commands of Col. Sebastiani will be instantly obeyed, and that Gen. Stuart and his army will evacuate the only posts remaining in our hands.—Had we retained the Cape of Good Hope, the occupation of Egypt by France might have been of little consequence; but, with that important post also in her hands, she will, in a very little time, shake to its centre our much envied power in India.—The fate of Malta still hangs on the balance, and, indeed, the Cape is said not to be completely given up; but, if the question becomes that of war or peace, we have very little hope, unless a speedy change in His Majesty's servants takes place, to see either of these important stations preserved to Great Britain.

MISSION OF GEN. LASNES TO LISBON. This is, perhaps, the grossest affront, that ever was offered to any independent nation, and particularly to a nation, to whom the affronting power professes to be bound by the ties of amity. LASNES is not only (see p. 179) sent back to Lisbon, but sent with an *entire approbation of his conduct* towards that justly offended Court. A proceeding more inoffensive than that of the Portuguese towards him cannot be conceived; and, the sending him back in this way, amounts to nothing short of a declaration, that that country is in a state of vassalage to France. So glaring is the insolence of this measure, that it has awakened the anger, real or feigned, of the London Morning Chronicle, which is known to speak, on most occasions, the sentiments of Mr. Fox. "It will," says that journal of the 5th instant, "be shameful if this "country *permit* the French to trample upon "Portugal."—*Permit!* But, does Mr. Fox recollect, that GEN. LASNES is one of the most zealous agents for carrying that "commercial "*rivality*," (in English *rivalship*), which Mr. Fox says is the *only* object of France, and from which he apprehends no mischief to this country? Does he, besides, recollect, that he approved of the peace because "it was glorious to France "and to the First Consul," of that peace which

exposed Portugal to be trampled on, which sanctioned the trampling on her, and which must be changed into war, before we can even think of preventing this degradation of our antient and most faithful ally? "*Permit*," indeed! what a word to be made use of by him, who was nine years calling for peace "on any terms," and who now tells the people of England, that "they *may* be subjugated but they must *eat!*" What a word to be made use of by a writer, who must know, that we cannot protect Portugal without arms, and who tells us, that, to employ those arms is certain and instant death!—"*Permit*," truely! if the present system is continued but a little longer, we shall not have to enquire what *we* ought to permit France to do in Portugal, but what she will permit *us* to do there. She is not ready for the measure yet, but, the moment she is, she will order the ports and harbours of that country to be shut against us, by which operation she will call to her aid the clamours of no contemptible portion of our merchants and manufacturers, who will blame, not the ambition and injustice of France, but whatever may remain of the spirit of resistance in their own government.

A FRENCH PUBLICATION RELATIVE TO MR. WINDHAM

In page 182 of the present Number will be found an article, published at Paris, in a paper called the ARGUS, which is well known to be conducted by the condemned and pardoned traitor ARTHUR O'CONNOR. This article repeats the charge, which has heretofore been preferred by the Moniteur against Mr. Windham, of having encouraged an attempt to assassinate Buonaparté, and the *proof*, which the Moniteur has obstinately refrained from producing, this vile traitor affects to have discovered in a speech delivered in Parliament by the gentleman accused. We should not have noticed this libel had not our attention been awakened by a *defence* of Mr. Windham inserted in the London Morning Chronicle, where, though the charge is repelled, the writer observes, that Mr. Windham said, upon the subject, what was, perhaps, not very *discreet*. Now, the fact is, that Mr. Windham, so far from ever having abetted, by any of his speeches, a scheme of assassination, has, on all occasions, declared his conviction, that no good could be expected to this country from any change that could possibly take place in the *persons* of the revolutionists at the head of the government of France. In his speech of 4. Nov., 1801, this opinion was fully and explicitly stated.* Mr. Windham never attempted to build a hope upon so uncertain, so disgraceful a foundation. We, too, the Paris traitor has thought it worth his while to accuse of instigating the assassination of the Consul, and of speaking, on this subject the sentiments of Mr. Windham. If we have spoken that gentleman's sentiments, here they are, as expressed several months ago. "Buonaparté has returned to "Paris safe and sound, in spite of the prayers "and predictions of the timid herd, who were "in hopes of losing their fears in his loss of "life. There are none but the basest of cow-"ards, who look to the death of this man as a "deliverance from danger. Yet, disgraceful "as is the facts, the hope of no small portion "of the advocates of peace have no better, no "more honourable foundation. Those who, "like ourselves, were opposed to a disgraceful "peace with Buonaparté, do not, nor ever "did, entertain any such foolish hope; we "know that if he were dead to-morrow, ano-"ther, perhaps even more dangerous, would "arise to fill his place: we are for the em-"ployment of no base means of offence or de-"fence, but are for a fair and honourable con-"test between the two nations, in which, with "God's good help, we should hope to come "off victorious, and to rescue our country from "impending ruin and slavery." † —In truth, there is no man of mind who counts the *person* of Buonaparté as of any great consequence, one way or the other. The little daring Corsican happened to be chosen as a proper organ of the will of the republican French, but almost any other man of courage would have done as well. He is perfectly illiterate; every thing that falls either from his lips or his pen bespeaks not only a want of acquired knowledge but a native emptiness, and, were it not for the million of soldiers that are at his back, his bombastical manifestoes and philipics would excite nothing but disgust and ridicule. No, no; it is not this *man* that England and the world has to fear; it is the spirit of the French Republic, that restless, that ambitious spirit, which must be subdued, or which will subdue this country. There are a thousand, ten thousand, men in France, either of whom would fill the Consulship as well, or better, than the Corsican. None but the cowards who tremble at his name, the vulgar politicians, whose views never extend beyond the present moment; none else, have any hope of good from the death of this man.—Why this charge is so often revived against Mr. Windham is very evident. It is one of the ways, in which the French tell the people of England, that *Mr. Windham must be kept out of power*. There was a time when such an intimation would have produced a contrary effect; for, it is pretty clear, that the man, whom our greatest enemy hates most, must be our best friend; but the preservation of the *honour* and *independence* of England is no longer the principal object of her degenerate sons, the preservation of *peace*, on any terms however degrading and ultimately destructive, is all they care for or think of, and, therefore it is, that the French are continually preferring, against Mr. Windham, such loud and outrageous complaints as must produce an impression in the minds of the people, that, if he, or his friends were in power, peace could not be preserved with France. We do not say that Mr. Windham is the *only* man capable of saving the country; but this we have no scruple to say, that, if it be saved from the tremendous dangers that threaten it, that salvation must be wrought by an adoption of the *principles* of Mr. Windham; those principles may, and those principles alone can, preserve this kingdom from being an appendage to France.—No wonder, then, that he is hated by the French; no wonder that they rack their

* See Register, Vol. II. p. 1164.

† Vol. II. p. 666.

invention for charges against him; no wonder that they misrepresent what he has said, and impute to him what he never has said; no wonder, in short, that the traitor O'Connor should lend his hand to destroy the reputation of Mr. Windham, or that traitor should be indirectly seconded by the London Morning Chronicle, by that very paper in which O'Conner was defended.

EMPLOYMENT OF ENGLISH SHIPS BY THE FRENCH. It is still said, that English ships are to be employed by the French in sending out troops to St. Domingo. The ministers, it seems, have acted with their usual *candour*. They have neither refused nor permitted the hire of the ships in question. Buonaparté will, if he be wise, have them at any price; because he will have the *sailors* along with them, and it will be his fault if the latter ever return to the service of England. It would, perhaps be prudent to send some of them back, by way of call-birds, to entice others, or, as occasion might serve, to inculcate, in the British fleet, those principles, which may, with no very great difficulty, be taught them during an expedition to St. Domingo. The fact is, that every British sailor, going upon this service, will fall by the yellow fever, or, which is infinitely worse, will become, in heart, a republican Frenchman. Another evil arising from this contract, is, the new and additional hold, which France will thereby obtain on the hearts, that is to say, the purses, of this nation. Every guinea, which she adds to her debts here, is another link added to the chain she is forging for us. The Americans owed us *five millions* sterling; a solemn treaty was made for its payment; they chose not to pay, and we commuted the sum for *six hundred thousand pounds*, because we would not go to war; and we would not go to war, because British subjects have always in America, seven millions of money owing to them for goods, and hold about ten millions more in the funds of that country. This fact, while it points out the consequences of our becoming the creditor of France, is no very feeble illustration of the maxim of the Addingtons and Hawkesburies, that the country is to be defended and preserved by its *capital* alone.

DISPOSITION OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. Much pains seems to have been taken to inculcate a belief, that the American government is hostile to France, and of course, friendly to England; but, we must confess, that we perceive no symptoms of either. The President's official declaration is, as we before observed, *perfectly equivocal*, and, in his more private acts, we can see nothing that favours the opinion above stated. He has, like Sir Joseph Banks, and Mr. Fox, accepted, with great satisfaction, the *honour* of a membership in the National Institute of France, the honour of being adopted into the "WESTERN FAMILY;" and, if what we see in the American papers be true, he has shown his friendship for our country and his respect for our King by inviting the British Chargé des Affaires to dinner, in company with TOM PAINE, a man famous for nothing but his blasphemy, and his hatred of England. It is even stated, in those prints, that the Chargé des Affaires actually dined with this man. We do not believe it, we cannot believe that Mr. Thornton would do any thing improper, and especially a thing like this; but, if it be so, if he, being the representative of our sovereign, really has placed himself at table in company with an out-law from England, a libeller of, a rebel and a traitor against, that sovereign; if this really be true, certain we are, that Mr. Thornton ought never to have an opportunity of again bringing upon his king and country such indelible disgrace. But we repeat our confident hope, that the report is false: we had once the honour to know Mr. Thornton, and, from all that we ever had an opportunity of discovering, repecting both his religious and political principles, he is the last man in the world whom we should suspect to be capable of an act so disgustingly disgraceful. Be this as it may, however, we think, there can be no doubt, that PAINE was sent for to America by the President, that he has been received by him with open arms, that he is kept about his person, and is one of his privy-counsellors. This, though not a positive proof, is, at least, a strong indication of Mr. Jefferson's political bent, and particularly of his disposition towards England, against the sovereign and government of which the miscreant PAINE has renewed his attacks even since his arrival in America. As to what is said in the London newspapers about MR. JEFFERSON having expressed his abhorrence of the tyranny of BUONAPARTÉ, and his opinion that it would be necessary for America and England to unite in repelling his ambitious aggressions, we believe but very little. Mr. JEFFERSON does not love fighting; he always preferred running away, when he had an opportunity of so doing; and, we are sincerely persuaded, that, as to the honour and independence of his country, he would not care to venture much for the preservation of either, or of both together. America is, in fact, very much under the rule of a small band of English and Irish traitors, who, with the potent aid of a few printing presses, are able to do more than any hundred thousand of the richest men in the country; and these miscreants are ready for any thing that may, either immediately or remotely injure Great Britain; a sort of feeling, in which, by the by, we are afraid they will not find it extremely difficult to make the President participate. In short, we place no reliance on Mr. JEFFERSON's good disposition towards England. He hates England from the bottom of his soul; he must and he will hate her; and most cruelly will our government be disappointed, if it expects ever to receive from him any hearty co-operation for the purpose of frustrating the views of France.

NOTICES.

We have received, from our worthy friend Mr. J. TIETENSER, "a parting word to Candidus with "a little truth to Verax."—This letter shall appear in our next without fail.

*** A new edition *(being the fifth)* of No. 25, of Vol. II. containing the NARRATIVE OF THE TAKING OF THE INVINCIBLE STANDARD, has just been printed, and may be had at every place where this work is usually sold.

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MR. ADDINGTON AND THE MAIDSTONE OPPOSITION.

SIR,—Observing a statement in the Sun Newspaper of Tuesday last, purporting to be a picture of the political parties in this country, wherein the writer has insidiously attempted to throw a most undeserved odium on Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, &c. and speaken in terms of great praise of certain political characters, on account of their having given their hitherto with-held support to Mr. Addington and his measures, and also insinuating that the late opposition to the Navy Bill for remedying abuses in the Dock-yards, &c. originated in pique and improper motives, I cannot suffer such a paper to pass unnoticed or unanswered.—The opposition to the Navy Bill was on two grounds; first, the infringement of the law of the land; and secondly, its inexpediency, and the pretext it afforded the Admiralty, and Navy Boards, of getting rid of a very great part of their business, at the public expense, and to the increase of an overbearing patronage. The opposition to that measure had in view the real, sound, and radical cure of the disorders in the Dock-yards, by constitutional means, in a speedy and easy manner. It wished to compel those commissioners who had been for years receiving the public reward for their alleged services, to cure those disorders that had crept into the departments under their management, at least, in part through their lax attendance to the business entrusted to them. Let any one step forth and invalidate, if he can, the statements that have been made on this head. Let him advance, he shall be met with damning proofs, and proofs upon proofs.—As to the other topic in that demi-official paper, the acquisition of certain political characters to the ministerial party, I wish the minister much joy of his new associates. Alas! What does the public service gain by it? Had those same men come forward with their approbation and support of measures during the late contest for our very existence as a nation, we should not be under the painful necessity of having to make the allusions we do to our present dangerous situation. I assert, Sir, in the face of the whole kingdom, that our present difficulties and dangers in great part proceed from the uniform and systematic opposition of these very men, to every measure, however salutary, of the late administration: That opposition paved the way for the disgraceful peace of Amiens: that opposition did away all those vulgar prejudices, love of our king, country, and constitution. They began with the greatest praise of the French revolution, in and out of Parliament; *that glorious monument of human wisdom* was echoed in our ears at every meeting of the disaffected, that could be got together from the lowest dregs of the people. Nay, the speaker's mace (certainly in republican jargon, *a bauble*,) did not impose the decent and necessary restraint on parliamentary debate, but every expression of contempt and infamy, couched in language the most coarse, was bestowed on every measure that tended in the smallest degree to the protection of the British crown and constitution, and to the check of the horrors of republican success. On which side did these men range themselves? Did they vote supplies for carrying on the war into which we were forced by our inveterate enemy in our self defence? Did they not stigmatize every legal means resorted to (almost indeed too late) for the suppression of treason itself, as illegal and tyrannical? Did not they assert, over and over again, that no treasonable plots did exist; and to crown all, did they not at Maidstone put the seal to their former conduct, by identifying their politics with those of the most infamous and abandoned traitor that ever did exist. Nay, has not the chief leader of that opposition repeatedly said, "I rejoice at peace because "it is glorious for France and the First Con-"sul." And yet, can the *respectable Mr. Addington*, can he, the friend of *Pitt and his gold*; of that Pitt whose wise measures formed a saving barrier to the desolating career of French horrors, can he call these men to his aid in the hour of peril, when the gaunt banner of Buonaparté waves over Italy, Switzerland, Germany, France, Belgium, and Holland? The line of conduct pursued by these men, taught our foe to consider us as a divided people; it emboldened his unbounded pretensions and aggressions; it appalled the royalists; it kept back those from declaring themselves in our favour, who otherwise would have entered most heartily into our cause, the cause of Europe and the civilized world. But when the trials at Maidstone ended so triumphantly for treason, when the evidence there given was known in France, its rulers already promised themselves the utmost success here. When they heard that a nobleman of the highest rank, and a privy counsellor too, presided at a club, and gave as a toast the "sovereignty of the people," they pictured to themselves the Earl Marshall's staff of honour emblazoned with all the kingly achievements, by republican and jacobin arts turned into the deadly pike surmounted with the cap of liberty, and reeking with the blood of every thing ancient, noble, and honourable. It was on this division, in and out of Parliament, that they founded their

hopes of final triumph. It was this that raised and appointed *the army of England.* They argued, and very wisely too, that matters must be very far gone indeed, when British senators became their advocates and eulogists, and branded the confederacy entered into by England on the purest grounds, those of self defence, as a combination of tyrants and despots. To make good this part of my assertion, I appeal to the repeated declarations of honest X. Y. Talleyrand to Lord Malmesbury during his embassy at Paris.—To our representations he opposed, as the strongest counterpart, the divisions among ourselves, and the bold designs of the patriotic party, as it was most falsely called. And can the acquisition of these men be a matter of triumph to any minister? No, no; surely not. It may indeed be a matter of triumph to the venal conductor of a newspaper, that is all things by turns to all men, to panegyrize such a coalition; but to those who have the honour and interest of their country at heart, it is a matter of dismay. What good can come from such a monstrous union?

Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.

In this day we want those tried men, whose unseduced principles and firm attachment to the crown and constitution of these realms, have steered us through the most troubled and dangerous period this country and Europe ever saw, and who have proved themselves well fitted to encounter the portentous difficulties which await us on every side. Those praisers of the French revolution are *not* the men; I fear them, I distrust them, I hate them in and out of place.—They cannot serve God and Mammon, they cannot admire Republican France, and love Old England; they cannot worship the Goddess of Reason with her Pike and Bonnet Rouge, and venerate the Imperial British Crown and Mitre at the same time.

I am, &c. R. B.

5th February, 1803.

ON THE EVACUATION OF MALTA.

SIR,—I have observed that the intelligence and opinions given in your Register are for the most part well founded; but I suspect that the following article in your Paper of the 8th inst. was not inserted with your usual attention. "Malta will, we "believe, be given up in a short time. "The pretended guarantee, which our "ministers will affect to have obtained "from Russia is, in fact and in truth, a "*mandate* on the part of that power, con-"jointly with France, that we should ful-"fil the treaty of Amiens." (p. 30).—That Russia and France may have required the evacuation of Malta in a mandatory style I can easily believe; and, notwithstanding the recruits lately sent thither, and the supposed orders for a part of the Egyptian army to re-inforce that garrison, notwithstanding the manifest and incalculable importance of this island to Great Britain, and our undeniable right under the existing circumstances to retain it, yet have I strong apprehensions that our ministry may be induced to yield to this imperious and unreasonable demand: but that this evacuation of Malta has been demanded, or will be agreed to as a *performance of the treaty of Amiens*, I never can believe until I see it publicly avowed. For to set up this pretence in such pointed contradiction to the terms of that treaty would, on the parts of Russia and France, be an useless waste of insolence and falsehood; whilst on the part of our ministry, it would be a foolish and hopeless attempt to make the nation believe—basely prone as it seems to be to believe any thing that promises to defer, even for a single month, a renewal of the war—it would, I say, be impossible to dupe even this nation into a belief, that the evacuating of Malta, until a Grand Master, or his lawful commissaries were present in the island to assume the government of it, would, with any appearance of propriety or truth, be called a *performance of the treaty of Amiens.* No, Sir; whenever that baleful event shall take place, it must be in virtue of a new negotiation, derogatory from the treaty of Amiens. Under this conviction, I have repeatedly and carefuly examined the treaty; and the only passage which seems, as far as I can discover, to afford the slightest opening to a new negotiation on the subject of Malta, is to be found in the second stipulation of the tenth article. The words are these: "The governments "of the French Republic and Great Bri-"tain, desirous to place the *order and island* "of Malta in a state of entire indepen-"dence with respect to themselves, agree," &c. &c.—and then follow the particular stipulations. Now, I can imagine, that the Courts of St. Peterburgh and Paris, presuming on their own power and the apparent disposition and conduct of this country, might insist—That by the spirit of the above declaration, which serves as an introduction to all the subsequent stipulations relative to the evacuation of Malta, it is clear that the principal aim and primary object of the contracting powers were, that Malta should be completely independent of themselves. That by the words of the fourth stipulation the island was

indeed to be restored to the Order, having assembled and regularly elected a Grand Master, which were considered to be such practicable and certain events, that they were expected to take place within three months, or possibly less, as appears from that being the time fixed for the withdrawing of the British troops. But unforeseen circumstances having prevented those events for almost a whole year, and there being now no prospect or probability that the Order will assemble and elect a Grand Master; good faith requires that the treaty of Amiens shall be executed as far as it is practicable, and pursuant to its true spirit and meaning. For this purpose, it is become requisite that a negotiation should be opened, in order that a time may be fixed for the British forces to evacuate, and for the Neapolitan garrison to take possession of Malta, as it is provided by the treaty of Amiens; which garrison, under the protecting guarantee of Russia, may keep that island completely independent both of France and Great Britain.—Having thus stated the most plausible reasoning that occurs to me in favour of a new negotiation on this subject, I will now offer what seems to be a fair and honourable answer on the part of the British ministry. —By the express terms of the treaty of Amiens, "the island of Malta is to be "restored to the Order, and the British "forces are to evacuate it, when a Grand "Master, duly elected, or his lawful com-"missaries shall be present to assume the "government of it." The words are plain and positive; there is no alternative, no provision for our evacuating the island in favour of any other power, or under any other circumstances. And this you do in effect acknowledge, by appealing from the *letter* which admits of but one construction, to the *spirit* of the treaty, which might open a wide and dangerous field to vague conjecture and sophistical interpretation: and in truth, we may learn from history, that appeals of this sort seldom terminate in any increase of good understanding or amity. So that it seems upon the whole to be more for the good of mankind that treaties of peace should be performed to the letter, even with some inconvenience, rather than that the spirit of them should be too curiously inquired into, or insisted on. Having stated this remark as a ground of general objection to the proposed negotiation, we will now answer particularly to the arguments which you have offered in support of the proposal.—From the declaration in the beginning of the fourth stipulation you infer, that the independence of the island of Malta was the principal aim and primary object of the contracting powers. We deny that any such inference can be fairly drawn from that passage. The words are, "desirous to place the "*order and the island* in a state of indepen-"dence." It is clear, that they were considered as one joint object; neither the one nor the other was a principal aim or primary object; they are never treated of as separate, or even separable; and as far as the form of the treaty can mark any priority of consideration, it is in favour of the *Order*, which occupies the three first stipulations of the tenth article, with provisions for its restoration; and in all the subsequent stipulations it is evidently supposed that the Order is re-established.—You say, that "the assembling of the Order "and the election of a Grand Master were "*expected* to take place within three months, "as appears from that being the time fixed "for withdrawing the British forces."—All the remaining knights being either Spaniards, Italians or Germans, France had facilities to procure an assemblage of them, which England could not have; possibly therefore you might at the time have good reason to expect that such an assemblage and an election might take place in three months. But we do not mean to discuss your expectations. For ourselves, we declare, that we formed no expectation as to the *time* when those events might take place; whether it were in three months or three years, was not, in our opinion, a matter of any consequence. The important point to us was, that the *Order*, and the *Order only*, should have possession of the island: because we thought, as we still think, that the *Order* would always find it to be its true interest to take no part in any war which England might hereafter have with France, or any other power, and would therefore always observe an impartial and strict neutrality. The peculiar institution and situation of the Order warrant this opinion, which we cannot extend to any other power in Europe; the situation of every other power being very obviously and essentially different.—But "*unforeseen* "*circumstances* have (it seems) prevented "the re-establishment of the Order." Supposing the knights to be, at the time of the signature of the treaty of Amiens, disposed to re-establish their Order, we do not recollect any circumstances that have happened to change that disposition, except the confiscations of their estates in Spain and Germany, by which the revenues of the knights have been so considerably reduced, that they may think themselves no

longer able to maintain their Order and the Island in a safe and respectable state. Possibly these confiscations were not foreseen at the time of signing the treaty of Amiens: but we cannot suppress our opinion, that they were not effected without the interference, or at least the acquiescence of France; and if France did in any way contribute to them, it would be highly unjust if she should now insist upon opening a negotiation for a new regulation of Malta, and thus avail herself of the difficulties which those confiscations have opposed to the literal performance of the treaty of Amiens.—It is however said by you, "that "there being no prospect or probability "that the Order will be re-established, "good faith requires that the treaty shall "be executed as far as it is practicable "pursuant to its true spirit and meaning." —We profess to be not only desirous to execute, but to have in fact executed the treaty with perfect good faith, as punctually and as speedily as it was practicable to do so. And we do not evacuate Malta because it is *not* practicable to do it pursuant to the letter and spirit of the treaty, if by the word "spirit" is to be understood the *intention of the parties*. We engaged by the letter of the treaty to restore Malta to the Order; and we have offered important, as it appears to us, sufficient reasons to prove that we should not have agreed to put that Island into the hands of any other power. We therefore say, that our intention is fully expressed in the treaty. If your intention was different from, or went beyond the words of the treaty; if, for instance, your meaning was that the British forces should evacuate Malta absolutely, and not conditionally only; could any thing be more easy or more glaringly obvious than to have proposed a proviso, that "in "case the Order should not be re-established within a given time, we should evacuate the Island in favour of some other "power;" or more generally, "that a "negotiation should be opened for the "further regulation of the article respecting Malta?" We do not mean even to hint that we should have agreed to such a proviso; but, if that *was* your meaning, why was it not declared, instead of signing a stipulation which expresses in the most explicit terms a different meaning? You will not surely answer, that this omission was purely accidental, and a mere oversight! That avowal would be too disgraceful to your ministers who negotiated, and your government which ratified the treaty; nor could such an answer be admitted without shaking all confidence in future negotiations and treaties. You will not surely allow that you were unapprized of one of the most evident and beneficial principles of national law, "that any political pos- "session or right which is to be changed "on certain specific conditions is under- "stood to remain unchanged until those "conditions are performed!" Yet we do not perceive on what other ground you can allege that your intention was not fully expressed in this fourth stipulation, or, in other words, that there is a difference between its letter and its spirit.—For the foregoing reasons we say, that you have no right or reasonable cause to require a negotiation to be opened for the evacuation of Malta. But we further declare our opinions, that such a negotiation could not answer the end you propose, namely, that we should put that island into the possession of a Neapolitan garrison. For, by your own construction, Malta is to be entirely independent of both England and France. But we consider the King of Naples himself to be not sufficiently independent of France to secure the independence of any place garrisoned by troops under his command; and therefore it is expressly provided by the fifth stipulation, that the Grand Master should have the commandership of the garrison, and consequently of the Neapolitan troops that were to be sent by the twelfth stipulation. But by the admission of a Neapolitan garrison under the command of the King of Naples, we plainly say, that the dependence of the Island would be only transferred from Great Britain to France, with this striking difference; that its remaining dependent upon Great Britain is, under the existing circumstances, pursuant to the treaty of Amiens; whereas its being rendered dependent upon France, would be in direct opposition to it.—To remove this objection, "Russia (it is said) will become guarantee "for the independence of Malta in the "hands of the King of Naples."—The confidence, which one state can place in another state, as guarantee of some particular object, must be in proportion to the power, local situation, and interest of the guarantee. To the power of Russia, whenever it can have opportunities of fully exerting itself, we can make no objection. But the dominions of Russia seem to be most inconveniently situated for a guarantee of Malta to the King of Naples; since France might wrest that Island from Naples, and use it in a manner extremely injurious to the trade and foreign possessions of Great Britain, not only before Russia could exert herself in maintaining her guarantee,

but even before she could receive intelligence of its having been violated. Nor can we perceive that Russia has any very cogent interest in preserving the independence of Malta, or why she should be very forward to engage in a war with France, for the purpose of procuring to Great Britain a reparation for the injury she might have sustained by a violation of that independence. On the contrary, we can discover a possibility that Russia might expect to reap some advantage from Malta being in the hands of France, instead of a state of entire independence. And if, in order to enable Russia to act more efficiently as a guarantee, by being nearer to the scene of action, a part of the garrison were to be composed of Russian troops; then we can see something more than a bare possibility that Russia may be tempted to make use of Malta for certain purposes of her own, instead of adhering to her engagement as guarantee.—It is a delicate thing to impute any hostile designs or plans of aggrandisement to powers with whom we are at peace: but to save time, we will venture to declare frankly our apprehensions and the causes of them. Suppose France were to compel the King of Naples to yield up the possession of Malta, it is natural to expect, that this act of violence, which could be evidently directed against Great Britain only, would be immediately followed by a descent in Egypt: for our defeat of her first attempt to reduce that country to a French colony was not accomplished in so rapid and triumphant a manner, as to render a second expedition hopeless. In this situation of affairs, might not arguments be offered on the part of France, which might induce Russia to turn her arms towards Turkey, rather than join her forces to those of Great Britain, in order to restore Malta to a state of entire independence! The Empress Catharine pointed out to her successors the road to Constantinople as their most practicable and natural path to aggrandisement; and a favourable opportunity might shew that her recommendation has not been forgotten. On the other hand, if Russian troops were permitted to form a part of the garrison of Malta, we are of opinion, that Russia might in time prevail upon France to consent that the Neapolitan troops should be withdrawn, and the garrison consist of Russians only. The consequence would be, that one Russian fleet stationed in the Black Sea, and another at Malta, would put Constantinople and the whole Black Sea and Archipelago at the absolute disposal of the Emperor of Russia. And why should France not consent? Formerly, indeed, while a balance of power in Europe was thought worth preserving, France had a strong interest in protecting the Grand Signior, the situation of whose dominions enabled him to be an useful ally to France in her contests with Austria, whose territories on the side of the Danube were always accessible to the Turks. But that interest is now done away by the incalculable superiority of France, and the complete humiliation of the House of Austria. We can therefore see no reason to expect that a concern for the integrity of the Ottoman empire would prevent an arrangement (which may one day be thought of) between the two powers, by which France might obtain the secure possession of Egypt, in return for permitting Russia to make acquisitions from the Turkish dominions. To any arrangement of this kind, Malta, even in the hands of the Order, would oppose considerable difficulties. For, the operations of a British fleet in the Mediterranean could be farther extended, and it might keep the sea with little loss, or hazard, through the year, by having Malta a neutral port, as a place of refuge for her distressed ships. Nor would that island again serve as a rendezvous for a French fleet, or a secure point of communication between Alexandria and Toulon. These reasons, which induced us to agree that Malta should be restored to the Order, may convince you that we were sincere in asserting, that it never was our intention to yield it to any other European power. For Malta, in the possession of Great Britain, must not only add much more surely and effectually to the security of her commerce and foreign possessions, but may also prove to be the only permanent and insurmountable obstacle to a plan of aggrandisement, which experience forbids us to regard as a merely visionary project.—To conclude; her own particular interests, the general interests of Europe, the express terms, and the evident intent and spirit of the several stipulations of the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens, all unite in determining Great Britain to decline the proposed negotiation.

IGNOTUS.

WEST-INDIA COMMISSION.

SIR,—I prefer addressing myself on a question of considerable importance to you, rather than to any of your brother journalists, as your paper appears to me to be conducted on the most independent principles:

"Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri,"

unbiassed by any name, however great; un-

influenced by any party, however powerful, the sole object you seem to aim at, is to support the great cause of truth and of your country. Having passed too, some years of your life on the other side of the Atlantic, you know something more of the British Empire, than that part of it, the shores of which are washed by the British seas, and can the more easily detect any mis-statement or misrepresentation of which, unconsciously to myself, I may be guilty; in either of which cases, I request what I am about to offer may not be permitted to meet the public eye.—A hint, the papers inform us, was some time past thrown out in the House of Commons, that the interests of the West-India Islands were not sufficiently or properly attended to by government. The observation was not suffered to pass unnoticed, Mr. Vansittart being reported to have stated in reply, that the vast importance of those numerous and opulent colonies, was fully felt by administration, who would eagerly seize all fit opportunities of promoting their welfare. How far this assurance may be relied on with respect to those now in power, I presume not to determine. Certainly as referring to all who have preceded them in his Majesty's service, an assertion of this nature would want proof to support it; and I fear much there are yet no solid grounds on which to build hopes, that we are now about to see an exception to the rule. No one acquainted with West-India affairs who has had any occasion to have communication with people in authority here, but must have been often surprized at questions put to him, betraying the grossest ignorance of the internal policy and civil history of these important settlements. Some have gone so far as to assert, that there is not the most petty borough in the united kingdom, the interests and prevailing parties in which are not more studied and better understood by ministers, than those of the great Island of Jamaica itself, one of the brightest jewels in the British diadem. It may be thought refining too far to infer, that to this negligence may be ascribed all the evils the nation at present suffers, and those still greater misfortunes there is too much reason to fear she has still to look forward to. In a total ignorance of facts and opinions on the Western Continent, there can be no doubt the American war took its origin; and to the same cause must the manner in which it was conducted, and its too much lamented event, be ascribed.—That from

"Hor fonte derivata clades, in patriam populosque fluxit,"

seems to be a truth now so generally admitted, that I will not trespass, Sir, upon your indulgence by any arguments to confirm it; having matter of much more importance, than retrospect, to which I wish to call the attention of your readers.—Ignorance, Mr. Cobbett, of the concerns of great constituent parts of an empire is a serious fault in those entrusted with its administration; and not far less deserving of censure than a gross violation of their rights: of which a most striking instance has, within the by-gone year presented itself.—In the last session of the last Parliament a bill was brought in to examine into the army accounts in the West-Indies, founded exactly on the same grounds, and in every respect a counterpart * with that which was first introduced in the present session, to inquire into the supposed abuses in the navy department.—Into the necessity, the expediency, or the propriety of either one or the other of these bills, it is not my purpose to inquire, and I shall dismiss what I have to say on the subject in few words. The history of the last of these two bills, you have yourself given, in so masterly a manner, that there is nothing for me to add to your account. There can be but two ways of thinking on this occasion. Either the injury government is supposed to have sustained, and the necessity of knowing the extent of the evil for the purpose of future regulation is so great, that a constitutional principle *ought* to be sacrificed; or, admitting the evil to exist to the full extent it is supposed, it should rather be endured (as my Lord Chancellor is reported to have asserted) than such a principle be infringed.—On this question men may very naturally think differently; but there surely can be no difference in opinion, that the Parliament of this country is in duty bound, as carefully to guard the rights and privileges of British subjects who reside in any part of the Antillean Archipelago, as of those whose habitations are in Portsmouth or Plymouth. In the present instance has this been done? During the passage of the first bill through both houses, not a syllable was said, not a murmur was heard in opposition to it; it passed: and commissioners are said to have gone out armed, at least as far

* That these two bills were originally twin brothers will not be disputed: nay, a young member brought forward in debate the one as a precedent for the other. The same gentleman mentioned another bill in the reign of Charles II. and said it was a good precedent, as having been carried through the House of Commons in opposition to the court: as if any transaction of that reign either on one side or the other, could justify an infringement of the people's rights. We may next expect to hear of the veracity of Titus Oates, or the guilt of poor old Lord Strafford.

as Parliament could arm them, with every one of those powers, which, in the second instance, are so strenuously objected to, and in the end not granted. Every argument used on the late occasion is a reflexion on what passed before; and every amendment made by the present, a libel on the conduct of the last Parliament. If this is admitted, as per force it must in this country, what will be the comments made upon it in the islands? And with such glaring facts as these before their eyes, it is not the fair promises or fine words of a member of administration that will satisfy the colonists, that the suspicions they have long had but too much reason to form, are ill grounded.—Their feelings and their sentiments are by many held not worthy regard, who reason, that as the West-Indians cannot better themselves, it is of little moment how much they consider themselves aggrieved, since they can be under no protection so advantageous to them as that of the British flag. If this observation, Mr. Cobbett, is true, is it generous? is it worthy of a British mind? In private life how should we consider the man that gave utterance to such a sentiment? and what scorn and contempt would not he appear to deserve who should be governed in his conduct by a way of thinking like this? Far different will be the feeling of every good man, and of every wise politician to whom the reins of government may be entrusted: he knows that to make any description of citizens most useful to the state, is to impress them most strongly with the conviction that they, their persons, their rights, and their properties are all as dear to him, and as sacredly considered as those of any other of their fellow-subjects.—This conviction coming home by proof upon their minds, an active loyalty, an alacrity to bear their full proportion of the public burthens would immediately evince themselves: no measures, no remonstrances would be heard. Every man would feel himself engaged in one common cause with his brother at the other extremity of the empire, and such an active co-operating spirit pervading the whole mass, the colossal powers and all the great talents of the Gallic tyrant might be defied: and our country once more stand forth with effect the guardian and protectress of the rights of Europe. Would to God, Mr. Cobbett, there was any prospect of this pleasing picture being realized! The inhabitants of the islands are all naturally attached to this country.

"England with all thy faults I love thee still,"

is a sentiment felt from Bridge Town to Savannah la Mar. Surely, then, common decency should be shewn towards them, and their feelings not insulted as every man's amongst them must be, by the different reception two bills, exactly alike in their principle and operation, but the one to take effect in the West-Indies, and the other in England, have met with in a British Parliament. TROPICUS.

ON THE NAVY BILL.

SIR,—The ministers, declare themselves in Parliament, to entertain the highest respect for the persons presiding at the Admiralty and Navy Boards for several years back, and pronounce those gentlemen free from blame; yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer says, at the same time, that abuses to an immense extent were discovered 9 or 10 years ago in the naval department, and communicated to Parliament; which abuses have increased ever since, and particularly during the last 18 months. He represented also, it is true, that Parliament when first made acquainted with these discoveries judged it impolitic to institute a retrospective enquiry with regard to them, being on the eve of a war. But are we therefore to hold those persons innocent, who after detecting such abuses, suffered them, for ten succeeding years, to *increase* under their management; the same reasons that would justify a delay of enquiry into such frauds, did not imply a toleration for their future continuance. A discovery is made in 1793 of peculation in the civil department of the navy to the annual amount, I believe I am correct, of a million and a half, which is suffered to increase until 1803 without any person being to blame, and the minister, now entrusted with the finances of the country, stands up in the House of Commons and asserts it, in the same breath that he asks of the House a further supply of 13 or 14 thousand a year, which is immediately granted, for what? To promote the same fruitless discoveries! Can real reform be expected from such men and such measures?—To render this assertion consistent, Mr. Addington must mean to insinuate, that these abuses, though discovered, could not be checked —Then why put the country to additional expense, for probing wounds he despairs of healing. Again, had the first Lord of the Admiralty entertained that respect due to the Navy Board, as second in consequence to his own, he would not have introduced the bill in question, without previous communication of his design to Sir A. Hammond (the much esteemed comptroller of the Navy Board.) The Navy Bill I strongly suspect will be found nugatory.—Power was originally

lodged with the first Lord of the Admiralty, (and still continues in his disposal) which, if properly applied, would correct every future abuse in his department: if not, for the immediate occasion, Parliament ought to have increased his power; and for the purpose of retrospective enquiry, a committee of the House of Commons was the best resource.—Your correspondent of the 15th, R. B., has ably stated, that commissioners are already too numerous in the naval department, for any probability of benefit, to arise from their number being increased. In the ordnance, which has been less suspected of malversation than the others, *there are none*.—The provisions respecting prize-money, which the Navy Bill contains, ought not to have been connected with it, and were so most certainly for the ill concealed purpose of throwing over the whole a veil of popularity.—The distribution of prize-money, is an interesting and important subject, which ought to have been separately and immediately brought under consideration; delay and confusion must arise from its being classed with the naval enquiry which, report says, is to go back to the times of James the 2d; documents of that period, having been demanded by the commissioners from those offices, where the originals are lodged. —As to the fitness of those appointed to execute it, I think with you, the several naval Boards would have afforded a better selection; a selection certainly possessing more knowledge of the subject to be submitted to them, at least of those relative to purchases, sales, &c.; and whose operations would have been unattended with any additional expense.—For the purpose of more general enquiry, men of the first rate abilities and independence should have been chosen. Sir Charles Pole, I have generally heard spoken of as a good sort of man, of a very accommodating disposition; qualities, which alone, it might be supposed, would not entitle their possessor to the very singular situation he now holds, and the distinctions that have lately been heaped upon him.

Sir Charles Pole is the officer who was judged the best qualified to succeed the gallant Lord Nelson, in command of our fleet in the Baltic, (where he had never served) though that command had been previously promised to Sir J. Colpoys. Soon after, when the Admiralty determined (for unknown reasons) to take the command of the blockade of Cadiz from Sir James Saumerez, who had served there with very distinguished credit during several years, and who had about that time, fought two gallant actions with the French and Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, by which he has immortalised his name; Sir Charles Pole was again selected as the most able Admiral for that service; and provisionally to succeed Lord Keith, in the command of the Mediterranean fleet. This gentleman's talents must have been undervalued by the Public. Lord St. Vincent has surely found him to possess powers of a very extraordinary kind, for he has even condescended to put himself under his controul, though one of the oldest Admirals in our service; an arrangement apparently very objectionable, but not new in his Lordship's system of naval management. When commanding off Cadiz, as I am told, he sent the *master* of the Ville de Paris on board the Centaur, then commanded by Captain Markham, (now one of the Lords of the Admiralty,) to put that ship in good order, directing the *captain* to aid and assist that master in the operation!—However considerable Sir Charles's abilities may be, he will find it no easy task to reconcile his situation of Commissioner and Admiral; his friendship for Lord St. Vincent, and his guardianship of the public interest, when he has to enquire into the abuses of the Board of Admiralty at which his patron presides, to whom he appears greatly indebted; and whose successor, as a termination of his late career, he is, perhaps, to become, should his Lordship from *real* illness be unable to execute the duties of First Lord.—Interrogating the Board of Admiralty is unquestionably to form part of Sir Charles' undertaking, or the whole enquiry will prove useless. Public money has been squandered in the purchase of hemp and iron, in the building and fitting ships, &c. This is a serious evil, but not greater than wasting it by *unnecessary* promotion of officers, which is also prejudicial, by degrading the service, and increasing the *gigantic* patronage of the Admiralty. Nor are these the most important points for his investigation; the general dissatisfaction and disgust now prevalent in all departments of the naval service; numbers of *boys* parading the streets as captains and lieutenants; ships put in commission when *without a plank* on their bottom; others ruined by mismanagement; deserving captains refused their flags on the most shameful pretences; strangers and men ignorant of the service, brought into our Naval Boards, and Dock-yards, over the heads of old servants; —these are fatal symptoms of that corruption, which consumes the vitals of our Navy.

If the country flatters itself, Sir Charles Pole has skill and resolution enough to apply such caustics as will stop them; if they farther hope, the Admiralty will submit to

be cured by him; their faith and expectation exceeds all that I can entertain, but most cordially shall I rejoice in seeing it justified.—Yet I must repeat, a want of subordination in those whose duty is obedience; a cruel waste of that public spirit and attachment to their profession, which our naval officers must feel or cease to be the men that have upheld their country, by shewing themselves; are all evils brought on us by the Admiralty, and far more fearful in their consequences than frauds on the public purse; it is not poverty but *prostration of character*, which a great maritime empire ought to dread! NAUTICUS.

A Representation from the Honourable Board of Trade to his Majesty King George I. asserting and proving the Right of the Subjects of Great Britain, to cut Logwood in the Bay of Campeachy.—To the King's most excellent Majesty.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—The Right Honourable Paul Methuen, Esq.; one of your Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, having transmitted to us on the 15th of Nov. last, by order of his Royal Highness, a letter or memorial he had received from the Marquis de Montelcone, ambassador extraordinary from his Catholick Majesty, relating to the trade carried on in the West Indies, and to the settlement made by your Majesty's subjects on the island of Trist, and on or near the lake or marsh de Terminos, in the province of Jucatan: in which parts he represents, 'That they employ themselves in cutting of logwood, or (as the Spaniards call it) Campeachy wood, and that the Spanish viceroy and governor had proposed to dislodge them from thence, but that his Catholic Majesty would not send his orders before he had given your Majesty notice of it, not doubting, but that according to all the treaties of peace, and particularly that made at Utrecht, your Majesty would oblige your said subjects to leave the aforesaid lake de Terminos, and give positive orders to your governors of Jamaica, and of the other islands, not to suffer the least trade to be carried on for Campeachy wood, and to declare, that if, in the space of eight months, they do not leave the said place, they shall be looked upon and used as pirates.'—We beg leave to represent to your Majesty, that although we did humbly propose such methods as we esteemed proper and necessary to support the cutting of logwood in the West Indies, when the said Mr. Methuen was on departure for Madrid, yet on this occasion when a trade of so great importance to our navigation and the American colonies, is in danger of being lost, we have again carefully perused the books and papers in our office, and received from the merchants and others the fullest information we can hope to obtain, which hath taken up much time; and we do now humbly crave leave to lay before your Majesty the past and present state of this trade, with the arguments that formerly engaged your Majesty's royal predecessors to protect and support the same; to which we shall add some observations, and the reasons that induce us to conclude, your Majesty's subjects have now as full and ample right to this trade, as to any other liberty or privilege that has been allowed by the crown of Spain, and enjoyed by them, by virtue of any treaty whatsoever.—In the first place, therefore, it must be observed, that logwood is one of the products of the province of Jucatan, which extends itself into the north sea, in form of a peninsula, about 100 leagues in length. The Spaniards are possessed of San Francisco de Campeachy, its capital town and port, which has been thrice taken by the English, and besides they have two other inland towns, Meridia and Valladolid, of no great importance, having few inhabitants; but the rest of the province, before the logwood cutters were settled, was, in a manner, wholly desolate and uninhabited.—Nevertheless, it must be allowed, that the Spaniards had, from time to time, cut wood in several places near their own settlements; but during the hostilities that were committed in the West Indies before the year 1667, they deserted that employment, being frequently interrupted by the privateers, both by sea and land, who by degrees becoming acquainted with the coast, and with those parts where the wood grew, that were most remote from the Spaniards, they, at last, fell into the trade, aud laid the foundation of their future establishment.—Their first settlements were near to Cape Catoche, but upon (if not before) the publication of the treaty concluded at Madrid, in 1667, by the Earl of Sandwich; they likewise settled near Suma-Sunta, adjacent to the Laguna de Terminos, and to Trist and Beef islands, which being the most convenient place for cutting of wood, and a tolerable harbour for their ships and vessels, the whole trade soon centered there. For notwithstanding the aforesaid treaty was principally intended to settle and adjust our commerce with his Catholic Majesty's dominions in Europe, yet, 'a 'general, firm and perfect amity, confederation 'and peace being thereby agreed, and concluded '(as in the first article) between the two crowns, 'to be observed inviolably, as well by land as by 'sea and fresh waters, and between the countries, 'kingdoms, dominions and territories belonging 'unto, or under the obedience of either of them, '&c.' it was concluded, that the peace extended to America as well as Europe; whereupon many of the British privateers that had before used those seas, to the great interruption of commerce, were then induced to quit their former course, and to settle with the logwood cutters in the Laguna de Terminos; so that in the year 1669, their numbers were considerably increased, and great quantities of wood were transported both to Jamaica and New England.—The American treaty for restraining depredations in those parts being afterwards concluded by Sir William Godolphin in July 1670, added to their strength by encouraging several others of the privateers, or seamen, to fall in with this employment of cutting wood, to which it was now generally supposed they had a right by the said treaty.—And as the logwood trade was of the greatest importance to Jamaica, on the 10th of March 1671, Sir Thomas Lynch, then governor of that island, not having received any orders how to govern himself in this affair, transmitted to the Lords of the Council the reasons that induced him to encourage the same under proper regulations.—1st. That the English had done so for divers years.—2dly. It was in desolate and uninhabited places.—3dly. That this seems a possession granted by the American treaty.—4thly. It might give a right to seclude the Dutch and the French, if we should break with Spain.—5thly. The Spaniards had not, to that time, made any complaints of it.—6thly. This employ makes the reducing of the privateers more easy, and—7thly. That it will employ 100 sail

annually, and bring in more to his Majesty's customs and the nation's trade, than any colony the King hath.—Whilst these arguments were under consideration, the Earl of Arlington laid before the lords of the committee, a letter from Sir Thomas Modyford the late governor of Jamaica, dated the 16th of May 1672, wherein, after he had given an account of the great extent or compass of the country, in which the logwood grows; how meanly the Spanish towns, on the aforesaid tract of land were peopled; and of the places frequented by the English, he adds,—That they have used this trade for three years past, at first finding it by the sea-side, but afterwards being forced to go four or five miles up into the country for their refreshment, they had planted Indian provisions, and built houses there to keep themselves and their provisions from the sun and rain: that, in general, they had affirmed to him, never to have seen any Spaniards or other person, in all the time of their working, although they had gone six or seven miles further into the country to kill deer, &c. This possession, he says, in the West Indies, is held the strongest that can be, viz. falling of wood, building of houses, and clearing and planting the ground.—Sir Thomas Lynch, to confirm what he had before asserted, and to justify his proceedings, in Nov. 1672, sends home the copies of several depositions he had taken from the masters of ships, and others concerned in the logwood trade, and of a proclamation he had issued out for the better regulation and security thereof, importing,—That whereas he was informed, by the oaths of many credible witnesses, that his Majesty's subjects have used to hunt, fish, and cut wood in divers bays, islands, and parts of the continent, not frequented or possessed by any of the subjects of his Catholic majesty, and had, for some years, peaceably done the same without any molestation; nevertheless, divers vessels having been seized at anchor and under sail by some pirates and fugitives of this island, and being in danger of being so surprised again, therefore he orders and appoints all vessels sailing out of the Port Royal, for the aforesaid lawful employments, to go out together in small squadrons, four at least in company, and to give bond to keep company with, and to obey him, whom he should make commander for the voyage, and their mutual defence, and what they should lawfully do in their own defence, and for the preservation of his Majesty's subjects, their ships and goods, be authorised and warranted, &c.—In January following, the Secretary to the Lords of the Committee by their order, advises the said Sir Thomas Lynch, that he had acquainted him with their lordship's pleasure fully, concerning cutting of logwood, and that they did altogether allow of the same, provided those rules were observed, which they had formerly directed, and which were agreeable to what the said governor himself had already mentioned.—This allowance of carrying on the trade as aforesaid, gave fresh vigour to those engaged in it, though about this time the Spaniards began to interrupt them in the prosecution thereof, and to dispute their right to that liberty they had so long quietly enjoyed.—For we must insist on it, as an undoubted and uncontested fact, that from the publication of the treaty in 1667, until about two years after the conclusion of the American treaty, the logwood cutters had never been in the least disturbed or molested in their employment, either directly or indirectly; nor does it appear, that the Spanish governors took any umbrage at it, or made any complaint about it; much less did they pretend to an exclusive right, or that it was contrary to the laws of their commerce.—Nay, so far were they from expressing any resentment on this account, or making it a pretence to justify the first hostilities they committed, in violation of the treaties both of 1667 and 1670, that when Sir Thomas Lynch sent to Don Fernando Francisco Descavedo, the governor of St. Francisco de Campeachy, to demand satisfaction for two English ships which had logwood on board, and were taken by some Spanish men of war; in his answer to that charge on the 6th of April 1672, he takes no notice of our cutting logwood, or that those ships had any on board, or that we had settled on the Laguna de Terminos, nor had he any other complaint to make by way of retaliation, save that an English vessel had taken a Spanish bark at the Laguna de Terminos bound to Tobasco, which is the more remarkable, because the said Laguna was, at that time, and had been several years, actually in our possession.—It must likewise be further urged, that before the Queen Regent of Spain had published a royal cedula, bearing date the 22d of June 1672, which orders, 'That such as should make invasion, or trade 'without license in the ports of the Indies, should 'be proceeded against as pirates, &c.' it does not appear that cutting of logwood was esteemed by the Spaniards to be an invasion, and trading without license; but by virtue of this cedula, it was at length carried to that height, that if our ships had but any logwood on board, they were confiscated without remedy.—Upon this subject, the Earl of Arlington, on the 19th of March 1674, wrote to Sir William Godolphin, then ambassador at Madrid, as follows:—'In a word, his Majesty 'is so sensible of the sufferings of his subjects in 'this particular, that you must endeavour, by all 'the skill you have, to procure some liberty for 'the cutting of logwood, in those remote parts, 'where the Spaniards have none, and his Majes'ty's subjects have had long abode and residence; 'and the rather, for that we find, by all the re'plies we have seen, they justify themselves by 'that single point of cutting logwood, nay even 'of finding it on board our vessels, which to us 'appears very unreasonable.'—And Sir Lionel Jenkins, the judge of the Admiralty, in his report to his late Majesty King Charles II. of the 8th of October 1675, intimating, 'That the Ame'rican treaty does require a further elucidation 'and adjustment between your Majesty and the 'crown of Spain; for it appears by the judgment 'of the Queen, in the matter of Campeachy, and 'by their Cedulas Reales, that they affix a new 'interpretation upon that treaty, in declaring 'what shall be private or not private, prize or 'not prize, without communicating, it seems, 'with your Majesty, and without publication, 'that may reach your Majesty's subjects.'—Thus, by a Spanish Auto, or a decree of that court, which was inconsistent with, and made *(ex post facto)* after the ratifications of a public and solemn treaty, it was manifestly intended, not only to debar the British subjects of that liberty they enjoyed before the said treaty was made, but in some measure, to deprive them of the common right of all nations; whereas, if your Majesty's subjects did actually hold and possess the Laguna de Terminos, and the parts adjacent, at the time of the conclusion of the American treaty, as hath been already proved, the last clause of the 7th article will determine to whom the same belongs, viz.—'Moreover, it is agreed, that the most serene 'King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors,

'shall have, hold, and keep, and always possess, 'in full right of sovereignty, seignory, possession, and property, all the lands, countries, 'islands, colonies, and other places, be they 'what they will, lying and situate in the West 'Indies, or in any part of America, which the 'said King of Great Britain and his subjects, now 'hold and possessed, insomuch they neither can 'nor ought hereafter to be contested or called in 'question for them, upon any account, or under 'any pretence whatsoever.'—And as long as the 8th article of the same treaty subsists, it will appear very extraordinary, that the Spaniards should pretend to any dominion or power in the ports or havens where they neither had fortifications, nor magazines, or in those places which were not possessed by them, because these descriptions are undoubtedly laid down by the treaty, as the sole and distinguishing marks of the sovereignty of the crown of Spain in those ports and places, which only we were to forbear sailing to and trafficking in, whilst all other ports and places were left open and free.—But notwithstanding the said treaty was so strong in our favour, the Spaniards having thereby compassed the two main ends they proposed to themselves, viz.—1st, The securing their West India trade to themselves, by excluding us, and consequently all other nations, from trafficking with them; a point which could never be before obtained, though it was strenuously insisted on, in the reign of King James I. and afterwards in 1630.—2d, The dispersion of the privateers, who had long miserably harassed and distressed the Spaniards' settlement, and notably checked the increase both of their power and trade in those parts, but are now entirely reduced, by the great care of the English governors, and by their entering into the logwood trade.—Yet the only advantages Great Britain aimed at by the treaty, viz. that her subjects might carry on their trade without interruption, and peaceably enjoy those places they then held and possessed, were, in a great measure, absolutely defeated.—For, after the publication of the aforesaid royal cedula, many of our ships were made prizes, under that pretence, sometimes by Spanish men of war, at other times by English pirates, seduced by the governors into the service of Spain, and afterwards by the Biscayneers, that were sent to cruise in those seas.—And, upon the same pretence, in April 1680, several ships under the command of Don Philippo de Varedda Villegas, arrived at the island of Trist and the Laguna de Terminos, attacked our logwood-cutters, whilst separated from one another, and dislodged them from thence.—Moreover, the Spanish governors encouraged by this success, and little regarding the just right of your Majesty, or your subjects, even to plantations still more distant from their dominions, did soon resolve upon another expedition, and in 1682, surprised New Providence, one of the Bahama islands.—But these places were again soon repeopled, and the trade from Trist and the Laguna, in 1682, was greater than ever.—The rise and progress of the logwood trade, from about the year 1667, to the year 1682, being thus stated, and laid before your Majesty, we presume it would be too tedious, and not very material to the point in question, to enter into the particulars, how, and in what manner, it was afterwards constantly carried on; and how it has been, from time to time, interrupted and supported until the year 1713, when the adjustment and settlement thereof was again under consideration, both at Madrid and Utrecht.—But since the Spanish ambassador insists on it, that by the treaty of peace made at Utrecht, in which (he says) it is stipulated, 'That the lands or other 'places which had been taken in the Indies during the war, should be evacuated; your Majesty 'is engaged to oblige your subjects who are come 'to the lake de Terminos, to leave it immediately.' We most humbly take leave to represent further to your Majesty:—That if his Excellency would hereby insinuate, that your Majesty's subjects are but lately, and during the war, come to the Laguna de Terminos, this is a mistake in fact; for it appears by the aforementioned depositions, sent by Sir Thomas Lynch, and Sir Thomas Modyford, that they were there in 1669, and for some time or years before; and it is well known to the Spaniards, that they have been ever since possessed of that part of the country, except for two or three months after the aforesaid assault in 1680.—Neither will what the said ambassador asserts from the treaty, answer the end for which it was produced.—By the 8th article it is, indeed, agreed by his Catholic Majesty, 'not 'to alienate any of his territories in the West Indies, to the French or any other nation; and 'upon this condition her late Majesty engages, 'that she will endeavour and give assistance to 'the Spaniards, that the ancient limits of their 'dominions in America be restored, &c. if it shall 'appear that they have in any manner been broken into, and lessened in any part, since the 'death of King Charles II.' But to argue from hence, that the Laguna de Terminos, in possession of the English before the year 1670, must be evacuated, when this treaty has only reference to what has passed since the demise of the said King Charles II. is very extraordinary.—But if the ambassador refers to the memorial on the affairs of commerce, that was signed at Madrid, the 13th of July 1713, by the Lord Lexington, and the Marquis de Bedmar, we must confess, that the article relating to the logwood trade, proposed therein by his lordship, had not then its effect: but we are assured it was from thence, among other things, referred to the discussion of the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht.—What passed particularly on this affair at Utrecht, doth not appear to us; but by the treaty of commerce concluded the 28th of November following (of which the said ambassador takes no notice in this memorial) and wherein the several interests of the two crowns, and their subjects, with respect to commerce, were more particularly under consideration, it is manifest, that the rights and liberties insisted on by the British subjects in the West Indies, were adjusted by the Lords Plenipotentiaries, and that a clause in the treaty, which determines this contest relating to the cutting of logwood, beyond all possibility of dispute for the future, was then agreed upon and concluded; it being expressly stipulated in the first article after the confirmation and ratification of the American treaty in 1670, as follows;—'Without any prejudice, however, to any liberty, 'or power, which the subjects of Great Britain 'enjoyed before, either through right, sufferance, 'or indulgence.'—If, therefore, this comprehensive clause (which relates only to the West Indies) confirms, secures, and re-establishes those liberties, which the subjects of Great Britain enjoyed in America before the treaty in 1670, it necessarily follows:—That they having then enjoyed the liberty of cutting logwood, without any interruption (as hath been fully proved) either through right, sufferance, or indulgence, they are again entitled by this treaty, to the same liberty, in as plain and express words as can be used or

imagined —And that your Majesty may be more fully apprised of the importance of this trade, the same will be effectually demonstrated by the following account of the quantities of logwood imported since the war, viz.

	T.	C.	Q.	lb.
In 1713, —	2189	15	3	22
1714, —	4878	14	3	24
1715, —	5863	12	1	14
1716, —	2032	17	2	5
In four years, Tons	14965	2	3	9

That is, *communibus annis*, tons 3741, which cannot be computed at less than £.60,000 per annum though the price is at present reduced from £.40 to £.16 per ton, whereas, before your Majesty's subjects were settled there, it was worth £.100 the ton.—Nor is this trade less necessary than beneficial to your Majesty's dominions, by reason of the great encouragement it gives to our seamen and shipping, which at all times requires a particular attention, but now especially, when it is daily observed, that very many British mariners, either through defect of the laws, for want of employment at home, or in hopes of greater advantage abroad, enter themselves into foreign service. —Upon the whole, therefore, we are humbly of opinion;—That the subjects of this your Majesty's kingdom, for some years before, as well as after the conclusion of the American treaty in 1670, did enjoy an uninterrupted liberty of cutting logwood in the Laguna de Terminos, and in other places not inhabited by the Spaniards in the province of Jucatan, either through right, sufferance, or indulgence.—That the said American treaty did establish a right in the crown of Great Britain to the Laguna de Terminos, and the parts adjacent; those places, at the time of the treaty, and for some years before, being actually in possession of the British subjects.—That the royal Cedula issued out by the court of Spain, was a violation of the aforesaid treaty, forasmuch as the carrying on the trade to the Laguna de Terminos, was thereby interpreted an invasion, and the logwood-cutters accounted pirates.—And that your Majesty's subjects having been (at least) suffered to enjoy the liberty of cutting logwood as aforesaid, before the conclusion of the American treaty (although your Majesty should not insist on your said right to the Laguna de Terminos) yet that the same liberty is absolutely granted and confirmed by the treaty of commerce made at Utrecht.—And we do further think it our duty to represent to your Majesty, that although the said Spanish ambassador seems to declare in his memorial, that no attempt should be made to dislodge your subjects settled on the Laguna de Terminos, in a less time than eight months from the date of his said memorial; yet they were dislodged and taken prisoners in the same month the memorial was delivered, as appears by several affidavits sent to this board by General Hamilton, your Majesty's governor of the Leeward islands.—All which is most humbly submitted.—Signed, *Suffolk, J. Chetwynd, Charles Cooke, J. Molesworth, D. Pulteney, M. Bladen.*

Whitehall, Sept. 25th, 1717.

Report made to the French Consul by Col. Sebastiani, extracted from the Monitteur of the 30th of Jan. 1803.

On the 16th of September I embarked at Toulon on board the Cornélie, and on the 30th I arrived at Tripoli. I immediately wrote to Baron Cederstrom, the Swedish Rear-Adm. as well as to the min. of the Pacha, to offer them my mediation to terminate the differences existing between the Swedish Court and the Regency. My mediation was accepted: the min. and the Rear-Adm. repaired to the Commissarial House of France, and we entered on the negotiation. The two parties were far asunder; the Pacha demanded a considerable sum, and an augmentation of the annual tribute. He urged a treaty made two years ago by an envoy of the K. of Sweden, which assured the payment of 245 thousand heavy piastres, and of an annuity of 20,000; he added, that two years of war had subjected him to extraordinary expenses, and that he used great moderation in conforming himself to the treaty in question. M. de Cederstrom only offered, in the name of his Court, 100,000 piastres for the redemption of the Swedish slaves, who were to the number of a hundred and fifty, and an annuity of 5000 piastres. After much debate, I succeeded in making them sign a treaty which fixed the payment of the ransom at 150,000 piastres, and the annuity at 8000.—On the 1st of October I was presented with much pomp to the Pacha, who received me in the most distinguished manner. The exchange of the ratif. of the tr. of peace took place, and the Ital. Rep. was formally acknowledged. I caused its flag to be hoisted on the Commissarial House of France, and it was saluted by the frigate and the place, with 21 guns.—It was not without difficulty that the Pacha consented to acknowledge that Rep. He feared that all Italy was comprized in this new Rep. and that, in consequence, he would be obliged to respect indiscriminately all the ships of commerce of that part of Europe:—this would destroy his marine. I gave him the necessary explanations, and particularly those which related to the object of his apprehensions, and he replied to me, 'Certainly I wish to be at peace with the Ital. Rep. without too much injuring my interest; but if it were still more difficult, I would do it, since the great Buonaparté desires it.'—The Pacha of Tripoli is a brave and enterprizing man, the friend of France. The English have furnished succours to his brother, who is at present at Derue, without means or credit. His plan is to raise the country against the Bey.—The political and administrative affairs of the regency are conducted by Seid-Muhammed-el-Deghais, Min. of the Pacha. This man is full of sagacity, and has even some notions of European politics. He has been in France, and preserves for our country a predominant sentiment of affection.—On the 2d of Oct. I set out from Tripoli, and on the 16th arrived at Alexandria: the same day I waited upon Gen. Stuart, Comt. of the English forces by land and sea. I communicated to him the order of the Min. for Foreign Affairs, which enjoined me to proceed to Alexandria, and if the Eng. still occupied that place, to demand a speedy evacuation, and the execution of the tr. of Amiens.—Gen. Stuart then told me, that the evacuation of the place would shortly be effected; but seeing that I insisted, and that I desired an answer less vague, he de-

clared to me, that he had no orders from his Court to quit Alexandria, and that he even believed he should pass the winter there.—Gen. Stuart is a man of *médiocre* talents: he has for his aid-de-camp a Fr. emigrant, called the Chev. de Sades, a man of talent, and an enemy of France, who has much influence over the Gen.—I went the same day to see Khourchid-Ahmid, the Pacha of Alexandria and the Capitan Bey, Com. of the Forces of the Ottoman Porte.—After the customary compliments, and some language agreeable to the Sublime Porte, I announced to them, that the agents of French commerce would assemble in Egypt. This communication gave them the greatest pleasure, and they did not conceal that they saw with grief the stay of the Eng. in the country. I told them, that their stay could not be much longer, and that the general peace left no doubt of their approaching departure.—On the 17th I visited the Cheik El-Messiry. The same day I also visited the Cheik Ibrahim Mufti.—On the 18th I visited the Coupure du Khalidj, which has formed the Lake Mareotis. The current of the waters of the Lake Madié is still very strong, and if the Porte does not make haste to re-establish this important canal, the overflows which take place on the little tongue of land that separates the two lakes, will render the opening so considerable, that it will be impossible to travel. I do not think that the Swedish engineer sent by the Porte to direct these labours, has the necessary talents. The formation of the Lake Mareotis appears to have contributed to the salubrity of the air. The city has no other water than what it draws from the wells of Marabouf. This little fort I found guarded by an Eng. and Turkish garrison, in order to protect the inhabitants who came to draw water.—I employed the day of the 19th in perambulating the town, and receiving different individuals who came to visit me.—On the 20th, I set out for Cairo, escorted by two Turkish officers, and six Fr. soldiers, whom I had taken on board the frigate, but contrary winds obliged me to return to the port.—The next day I was at Aboukir, where I passed the night. I profited by this opportunity to visit the fort, which is in a very ruined state.—On the 22d, I arrived at Rosetta, after having visit the Fort Julien; I saw the same day Osman, Aga, and Duvanny of the town, as well as all the Christians who reside there.—The 23d I was at Faoné, where I visited the commandant of the place, the Cadi, and the Cheiks; I received from the latter, and from all those whom I entertained, protestations of attachment to the First Consul.—I passed the next day at Rahmanie, where I visited the Cheik Muhammed Abou-Aly; the fort of the town is almost entirely destroyed.—I visited on the 25th, at Menouf, the Cheik Abdin, whom the First Consul had appointed Cadi. The other Cheiks of that town who came to visit me, held the same language as those of Faoné. I said to them, 'The First Consul loves your country much, he speaks of it often; he interests himself in your happiness; he did not forget you, and recommended you to the Porte. He has made peace with Europe, and this country will feel the interest which he takes, and the recollection which he has preserved of the poor Cheiks of Egypt.'—Muhammed Kachef-Zourba Matzellem, who commanded at Menouf on my journey through that town, has been beheaded in consequence of being accused of communications with the Mamelouks.—The two forts of Menouf are destroyed.—I arrived the same day at Boulak. I sent immediately Citizen Joubert to inform the Pacha of Cairo of my arrival.—The next morning, the 26th, the Pacha sent 300 cavalry and 200 infantry, commanded by the principal officers of his household, to accompany me to him, amidst a great many discharges of artillery.—Having arrived at the Pacha's, I said to him, 'Peace has been concluded between the French Rep. and the Sub. Porte; the ancient relations of amity and commerce have been re-established, and I am charged by the Great Consul Buonaparté, to assure you of his benevolence, and to announce to you the arrival of Commissaries of the Fr. Commerce in Egypt.' The Pacha answered me, 'The benevolence with which the First Consul has honoured me, penetrates me with gratitude, and his commercial agents shall meet here the most friendly reception.'—I proceeded then to the house which the Pacha had prepared for me.—I received the same day the visits of all the principal men of the country, and of the Copt Intendants.—On the 27th I again repaired to the Pacha, with whom I had a long conference. I spoke to him in these words: 'The First Consul takes in you, and the country which you govern, a very lively interest, and desires to contribute to your happiness; he has charged me therefore to offer you his mediation, in order to make peace between you and the Beys.

The Pacha thanked me warmly and sincerely for the interest which the First Consul took in his behalf, but he protested to me, that he had the most positive orders from his court, to make a war of extermination upon the Beys, and not to enter into any arrangement with them. I observed, that the unfortunate circumstances which had happened to the Ottoman troops (they had been beaten five times successively by the Mamelouks), rendered their position very critical, and that obstinacy exposed them to the loss of the province. He then communicated to me the order of the Porte, and I saw beyond a doubt that it was not possible for him to enter into any accommodation. I informed him that I intended to visit the different Cheiks of Cairo, and also Madame Murad Bey, and to inspect the environs and fortifications of the city. He ordered immediately that the guard which he had sent should accompany me wherever I wished to go, informing me, that he would use every means in his power to render my stay at Cairo agreeable, —The same day I commenced my visits, beginning with the Cheik Abdallah-el-Chescanoi, of the Great Mosque. As I was expected by him, he had assembled a considerable number of Cheiks. The conversation turned upon the interest which the First Consul took in Egypt, on his power, his glory, and on his esteem and benevolence for the learned Cheiks of Cairo.

Their answers expressed their attachment to his person.—He must have been a witness like myself, to the enthusiasm excited at the view of the portrait of the First Consul, to form an idea of the exaltation of their sentiments. I have given it to all the principal Cheiks of Cairo, and of the towns where I have travelled.—On the 28th I invited the Cheik Omar El-Berky, prince of the Shiriss: he was ill, and I saw only his son.—The Cheik Suleiman El-Fargoumy, received me with much friendship, and assured me of his boundless admiration for the First Consul.—The Cit. Joubert and Beye have certified to me that the inhabitants of Cairo never testified so much attachment to France as on my arrival.—When we pass along the streets, every body salutes us. Their astrologers make predictions every day as to what concerns the First Consul. —On the 29th, I went to visit Madame Murad Bey: her intendant had already prayed of me that I would grant her an interview. I informed her, that the First Consul had charged me to interpose my mediation, in order to make their peace with the Sub. Porte; but that the Pacha had ordered that no negotiation should be entered into.—I employed that day and the following in visiting the citadel, the isle of Ro da Gizé, Boulak, and all the other little forts which surround the city. The Turkish soldiers murmured to see me visit their forts, but I feigned not to hear them, and continued my course and my observations.—On the 29th, in returning to fort Dupuy, a soldier menaced me with his attagan, but as the inhabitants of the city testified highly their indignation against him, I did not stop at his menaces, and continued my route. A moment afterwards Mustapha Oukil, one of the chiefs of the city, passed before me on horseback. In passing, he reproached my guides with marching before a christian, and above all, before a Frenchman, and menaced them with the bastinado after my departure. I could not be silent under such an insult; and upon my return I sent Cit. Joubert to the Pacha, to make my complaint, and demand a prompt redress. I declared to him that I expected this man would come publicly to me to ask my pardon, place himself at my disposal, and implore my pity. He found that Mustapha was greatly protected by the Pacha, and wanted to arrange it otherwise; but I persisted by declaring formally to the Pacha, that if this reparation was not made in the manner in which I demanded it, I should instantly depart, and immediately write to Paris and Constantinople to state my complaint. This declaration produced all the effect which I expected; and Mustapha, alarmed, came on the following day to me, conducted by Rosetti, and he publicly asked my pardon, and put himself at my disposal. I told him that my first intention had been to cut off his head, and that I only gave him his life at the solicitations of the Pacha and M. Rosetti; but if in future he should ever insult the French, or those in their suite, his destruction would be inevitable. This affair, which was instantly spread throughout the whole city, produced the best effect.—The same day an attempt was made to excite the Albanese against me. Two letters from Rosetta written by Eng. protegées, assured that there had been seen upon the coasts of Narolia, a French fleet of 300 sail; that we were marching against Constantinople, and that my visit to Egypt had no other object but to deceive them, and blind them to their dangers. I made the mercht. come to me who had received the letter: I made him give it me —I instantly sent it to the Pacha himself, telling him that this absurd news was spread to occasion disorders, and to endeavour to alter the good understanding which existed between France and the Sublime Porte; and I guaranteed the falsehood of it with my head.—The Pacha had discovered the snare, and did not fall into it. He even communicated to me a letter from Gen. Stuart, which he had just received, and to which was joined an order of the day, of the First Consul, when he commanded the army of Egypt. This order of the day was dated in Aug. 1799, and recalled to the recollection of the Egyptians, that Constantinople was tributary to Arabia, and that the time was now come to restore Cairo to its supremacy, and to destroy the Eastern empire of the Ottomans. Gen. Stuart begged the Pacha to consider the spirit of that order, and to judge from it of our attachment, and of our peace with the Turks. I was indignant to find that a soldier of one of the most polite nations of Europe should degrade himself so far as to instigate assassination, by means of such an insinuation—the Pacha treated me with the greatest politeness, and the Eng. at Cairo were witnesses of the attachment of that city to the French.—I received a deputation from the monks of Mount Sinai, whom I recommended to the Pacha: I wrote to their superior, to assure them of the friendship and protection of the First Consul.—The monks of the Propaganda at Cairo, whom I placed under the national protection which they enjoyed before the war, celebrated a *Te Deum* for the prosperity of the First Consul. I assisted at this ceremony, at which all the christians of Cairo were present. The evening before my departure (the 2d of Nov.) I had another interview with the Pacha, and recommended all the christians of Cairo to his protection, as well as the Turks, who during the residence of the French in Egypt, were connected with them. He not only promised to respect them, but even to treat them with bounty.—On the 3d, I set out in a conveyance of the Pacha's in order to repair to Damietta.—The Pacha ordered me to be escorted to Boulak, with the same honours that I received on the day of my arrival. I had written to Capt. Gourdin, to repair to Damietta with the frigate, in order to convey me to Syria. —On the 5th, I stopped a short time at Simenoud, and afterwards at Mansoura, where I saw the commandant of the city and the Cheik Esseid-Muhammed-El-Chenaoni, who came to see me, as well as all the other Cheiks. I spoke to them in the same manner as the other Cheiks of Egypt, and received the same promises of attachment. The tower of Mansoura is destroyed. The same day I arrived at Damietta.—The next day I went to Ahmed-Pacha-Behil, a creature of the Grand Vizier's; he returned my visit the same day.—He conducted himself perfectly well to me during my stay in that city.—

On the 7th, I went to visit the fort of Lesbe and the towers of Bogaz. They have not continued the works of that fort, which is in a bad state: those of Bogaz are in a good condition. There is a garrison of 200 men in the fort and in the towers.—On the 8th, I received the visit of Hassan Toubar: his influence over the inhabitants of Mensale is still the same.—On the 9th, I went to Senenie, where I saw the Cheik Ibrahim-El-Behlout, he who behaved so well to the French under the orders of General Vial, when they were taken and imprisoned. The First Consul had exempted his village from all contributions. —I saw all the Cheiks at Damietta, particularly Ali Khasaki, whom the First Consul had invested with a pelisse: he is possessed of great credit, and is much attached to the French. There are at Damietta two christians, who are men of merit, and may be very useful to us:—they are M. Bazile and Don Bazile. They are possessed of good information, have very considerable fortunes, and are very highly respected. In Egypt, chiefs, merchants, people, all like to talk of the First Consul—all offer up prayers for his happiness. All the news which concerns him spread from Alexandria or Damietta to the pyramids and the grand cataracts, with astonishing rapadity. On the 14th the frigate arrived at Bogaz from Damietta. I immediately set out for Acre, at which place I arrived on the 19th.—

The 20th of Nov. in the morning, I dispatched Citizens Joubert and Legrange to Dgezzar-Pacha, with a letter, in which I stated to him, that peace being concluded between France and the Porte, the relations of commerce should be re-established on the footing they stood before the war, and that I was charged by the First Consul to confer with him on these objects. I begged of him to answer me in writing, if he was inclined to treat with me. In some hours the messengers returned—Dgezzar had received them coldly. He expressed his desire to see me personally, but was unwilling to write. Every body advised me not to see him, without an assurance written by himself; but this he appeared unwilling to do: but notwithstanding this cautionary advice, and his obstinate refusal to write, I determined to repair myself immediately to Acre.—I repaired to the house of the Commissary of the Seven Isles. Very soon after, the Drogoman of the Pacha, informed of my arrival, came to conduct me to the Pacha, who received me in an apartment where he was unattended, and which was without any other furniture than a carpet. He had on one side of him a pistol with four barrels, a small air-gun, a sabre and a hatchet. After inquiring as to my health, he asked me, whether I was not persuaded that our end is pre-ordained in Heaven, and that nothing could change our destiny. I answered that I believed as he did, in predestination. He continued to speak for some time on that subject. I perceived, however, that he affected a degree of simplicity, but that, at the same time, he wished to pass for a man of wit, as well as for a just man. He repeated several times—'It is said, that Dgezzar is barbarous—this is false, he is but just and severe. Request of the First Consul, not to send me, as Commissary of Commercial Relations, a lame or a blind man; because such a person would be sure to say, that Dgezzar had made him so.' Soon after, he said, 'I desire that the Commissary you may send shall reside at Seide; as that is the most commercial port in my dominions: besides, it is not necessary he should reside here, where I shall be myself the French commissary, and shall take care that your countrymen be well received. I highly esteem the French. In stature Buonaparté is small, but he is nevertheless the greatest of mankind. I know that he is greatly regretted at Cairo, where they wish to see him again.'—I made a few observations on the peace between France and the Porte; to which he answered, 'Do you know why I have thus received, and feel so much pleasure at seeing you? It is because you come unauthorised by a *firman*, and without any orders from the Divan. I have the greatest contempt for its blind vizier. They say that Dgezzar is a Bosnian, a man of straw, and cruel to excess; but nevertheless, I can stand the ordeal. I was once poor. My father had nothing to bequeath me but courage. I have achieved my own elevation, by dint of exertion. This, however, does not make me proud, and Dgezzar, perhaps, will soon finish his career, not that he is old, as his enemies report, (he then performed some of the manœuvres of the Mamelukes, in their mode of rising their arms, &c. which he really executed with surprising adroitness and agility), but because, most likely, God will have it so. The King of France, once so powerful, has perished.—Nebuchadnezzar, the greatest of all Kings, was, when his time was come, killed by a fly, &c.' He made several other observations in this strain, and afterwards spoke of the motives which induced him to make war upon the French army; from the whole of his demeanour it could easily be seen, that he wished to be on good terms with the First Consul, and that he stifled his resentments.—The following is the apologue, which he used to demonstrate the causes of his resistance. 'A black slave,' he said, 'after a long journey, in which he had suffered the greatest privations, arrived at a little field of sugar canes—he stopped therein and indulged himself in partaking of the delicious liquor they afforded, and at length was determined to remain on the spot. Very soon after, two travellers, who had followed him came up. The first said to him, *Salamallee* (the mode of wishing health). The devil take it, answered the black. The second traveller then approached, and inquired why he had answered in such a way to so good a wish. I had very good reason for it replied he; if I had, answered in a friendly manner, the man would have entered into conversation with me, and afterwards sat down beside me; he would have partaken of my refreshments, and finding them desirable, would have endeavoured to obtain exclusive possession.'—I recommended to the favable attention of Dgezzar the christians and the convents at Nazareth and Jesrusalem; he assured me that he would treat them with much regard. I did not forget the *Mutuales*, and received the same assurance in their behalf. Dgezzar frequently observed to me, that his

word was, with him, more sacred than treaties. Our conversation was interrupted for some moments by a kind of military music, which he performed in a very agreeable stile.—The palace of Dgezzar is built with much taste and elegance; but, in order to arrive at the apartments, a number of turnings are necessary. At the foot of the staircase, however, is situated a prison, the gate of which is allowed to be open from noon till evening. I saw a number of the unfortunate inhabitants. In the courts I observed twelve field-pieces well mounted, and in admirable order. Never did I encounter a sight more hideous or repulsive than that of the minister of Dgezzar, whom I met in going out. The Pacha had caused one of his eyes to be put out, and his nose and ears lo be cut off. I saw in the town more than a hundred individuals in the same state. On beholding the domestics of Dgezzar, and even the inhabitants of Acre, one would imagine himself in the resorts of Brigands, ready to assassinate. This monster has imprinted the mark of his atrocious character upon every thing within the limits of his power. I had an opportunity of seeing while at Acre, the procurateur of the *Propaganda*, as well as that of the Holy Land. Of the former, and of the Commissary of the Seven Isles, I collected some information concerning the present state of Syria, and the fortifications of Acre, of which I had seen but a part—I was not suffered to visit them. The procurateur of the Holy Land is grateful to the First Consul for the protection he had afforded the monks. He assured me that my recommendation to Dgezzar would be very useful. He hinted to me Dgezzar's earnest wishes to be on good terms with the First Consul. It is certain that the former behaved very well to the crew of a French vessel which put into Acre shortly before my arrival.—Dgezzar occupies all Palestine, with the exception of Jaffa, where Aboumarak Pacha has been besieged nearly five months, by a force of 9000 men. This operation prevents Dgezzar from carrying on hostilities with the desired vigour, against the Emir of the Druses, who for the space of a year, had paid him no tribute.—Tripoli is tranquil at present: it is different at Aleppo, whence the Pacha has been driven. Damascus is in open rebellion against the Porte:—not only has the Pacha of the Divan been expelled, but the Aga who commanded the Citadel for the Turks, has been delivered up by the soldiers to the insurgents, who have decapitated him. Tripoli is now under a rebellious Pacha, who is a creature of Dgezzar, who has lately ordered him to protect the pilgrims from Mecca. In a word, all Syria is with Dgezzar, and the Ottomans are as much detested here, as in Egypt.—The Mutuales live peaceably n their villages; they have, however, been obliged to retire from the borders of the sea: Aboumarak is now at the last extremity; this man is equally inconsiderate and cruel, and is surpassed only by Dgezzar.—The Christians are even more in dread of him, and tremble for their futute situation. The monks of the convent of Jaffa have withdrawn to Jerusalem.—The 21st Nov. I quitted Acre. As the winds were unfavourable to a voyage to Jaffa, I set sail for Zante, where I arrived the 4th December. I landed the same day, but the ship's company were put under quarantine. I repaired to the house of the French commissary, escorted by the officers of health.—I soon learned that the isle and the Rep. were split into different parties, and that even the tranquillity of the place was threatened. I assembled the members of the Constituted Authorities, and the principal persons of the town, at the house of the Gov. M. de Calishipode. After having represented to them the interest which the First Consul took in their welfare, I induced them to lay aside that spirit of party which distracted them, and to wait without passion, and in silence, the new constitution.—These few words were received with enthusiasm, and all of them exclaimed "France for ever! Buonaparté for ever!" These cries were reiterated on my going out, by more than 4000 men, who followed me to the door. The gov. and the Russian commandant were alarmed at it; and I learned by the French commissary, on the following day, that two of the leading men were sent to prison, but that, on his solicitations, and fearful of my reproaches, they were set at liberty in the course of the night. I went to the Conciergerie, and had the gov. brought there. I spoke to him strongly on the irregularity of his conduct. He was alarmed, and promised that he would look upon those who cried out 'Live the First Consul,' as good citizens, and should in future treat them as such.—As he sent in the course of the night a courier to his government, and I had reason to believe he had made a wrong report, I immediately wrote to the *Chargé d'Affaires* of the Rep. at Corfou, to inform him what had passed, and that I was setting off for Messina.—I do not stray from the truth in assuring you that the islands of the Ionian Sea will declare themselves French as soon as an opportunity shall offer itself.

ENGLISH ARMY IN EGYPT.—That army, commanded by General Stuart, consists of 4430 men. They wholly and exclusively occupy Alexandria and the neighbouring Forts. The Turks who formed the garrison of some of these Forts, have been removed. Lately the English gen. has occupied Demanhour with 100 infantry and 100 horse, under the pretext of curbing the Arabs. The English have made no necessary works for the maintenance of the Forts; the Pallisades are almost entirely destroyed, and the branches occasioned by the rains have very much damaged all the new fortifications. They occupy none of the works which are beyond the line of the Arabs, and all the redoubts which existed at the departure of the French army are destroyed.—The Pacha of Cairo furnishes to the English army corn, rice, wood, and provisions, without any payment. The consumption is treble what it should be; they commit great waste. A great misunderstanding reigns between General Stuart and the Pacha.

[*To be concluded in our next.*]

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